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ABSTRACT

Youth organizations as educational settings were examined in a series of small-scale studies describing what happens to young people who participate in such organizations. The project, an overview of which is given in the introductory chapter of this report was organized into three components. The initial, exploratory study examined what scouting and 4-H leaders, youth members, and parents perceived as the important educational experiences and effects of youth groups. Well-run groups were found to provide such benefits as (1) increased contact with adults, (2) teaching of practical skills, (3) practice in formal leadership and organizational roles, (4) opportunities to practice community responsibility, and (5) increased family involvement in the education of adolescents. The second study examined critically these perceived effects through an intensive, descriptive study of boys' actual experiences in two Boy Scout troops. Emphasized were (1) how families use Boy Scouts for socialization purposes and what boys gain from the experience; and (2) critical variables in troop functioning which influence the type of educational experience boys receive. The third study examined one youth group in a rural Alaska Eskimo village. It was found that, although organizations such as scout troops and 4-H are seldom established in rural Alaska, they can be successful if they reflect local cultural patterns (as does this group). Questionnaires used in the studies are presented in appendices. (CMG)

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FINAL REPORT

to

The National Institute of Education

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS AS A THIRD EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT PARTICULARLY FOR MINORITY GROUP YOUTH

Research Grant
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CONTENTS

Summary i

Acknowledgements v

1. INTRODUCTION 1

2. LESSONS OUT-OF-SCHOOL: BOY SCOUTS, GIRL SCOUTS AND 4-H CLUBS AS EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS 17

Judith Kleinfeld and Anne Shinkwin

3. GETTING PREPARED: BOY SCOUTS AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT 67

Judith Kleinfeld and Anne Shinkwin

4. TWO BOY SCOUT TROOPS: INDUCTION INTO PEER VERSUS ADULT CULTURE 131

Anne Shinkwin and Judith Kleinfeld

5. GETTING IT TOGETHER IN CHEVAK: A CASE STUDY OF A YOUTH ORGANIZATION IN A RURAL ALASKAN VILLAGE 165

G. Williamson McDiarmid

Appendix I 219

Appendix II 237

Appendix III 242

SUMMARY

Purpose

This project examines the educational experiences youth receive in community-based youth organizations such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H clubs. We ask:

1. What do these organizations teach adolescents? What skills, values, and attitudes do they transmit and through what kinds of learning situations?
2. Are these organizations providing experiences--such as the chance to conduct a meeting or work for community improvements--which young people rarely have in other educational settings, such as classrooms?
3. Are these organizations effective with culturally different youth--specifically, Alaska Indians and Eskimos--or must their ideology, methods of operation, and activities change for the institution to succeed in a different cultural context?

Methods

This project was organized into three components. The initial, exploratory study examined what scouting and 4-H leaders, youth members, and their parents, perceived as the important educational experiences and effects of youth groups. The second study examined critically these perceived effects through an intensive, descriptive study of boys' actual experience in two Boy Scout troops. A third study examined youth groups in rural Alaska Eskimo and Indian villages and described the purposes, structure, and activities of an unusual youth organization which was successful in a cross-cultural setting. The first study relied primarily on extensive interviews. The second and third studies used participant observation, structured and on-the-spot interviews, and (in the case of the Boy Scout troops) parents' month by month diaries describing their sons' experience.

Findings

Educational Experiences Available in Youth Groups

Well-functioning scouting and 4-H groups provide a significant set of learning experiences which early adolescents rarely have in school or other settings. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H programs differ among themselves, and individual troops and clubs also differ in their educational effectiveness. Well-run groups, however, provide such benefits as:

1. Increased Contact with Adults. Youth groups create a system of educational relationships between young people and civic minded adults, who model community oriented behavior, who value community leadership, and who teach locally appropriate practical skills.
2. Teaching of Useful Practical Skills. Youth groups teach a variety of technical skills that early adolescents rarely learn in school and often do not learn at home. These include first aid, camping, emergency preparedness, gardening, cooking, automobile repairs, Eskimo crafts, and so on. The specific skills taught vary according to the type of group, the locale, and the interests of the particular youth and adult leaders.
3. Practice in Formal Leadership and Other Organizational Roles. Youth groups provide a large number of opportunities for young people to develop organizational skills. Boy Scout members, for example, learn how to conduct a formal meeting, act as Master of Ceremonies at a public occasion, set an agenda, and organize other people to carry out a community project. They acquire experience in dealing with the human relations problem involved in group leadership--how to get people to do things without being bossy, how to deal with challenges to your authority, how to exercise authority while keeping your friends.

4. Opportunities to Practice Community Responsibility. Youth groups involve young people in community projects, such as washing cars to buy hospital equipment for the handicapped, landscaping a busy traffic intersection, or making a road map for a volunteer fire department. Early adolescents learn that community projects are fun and bring prestige; they also learn the mechanics of how to carry them out.

5. Increased Family Involvement in the Education of Adolescents. Youth groups involve parents and other family members in teaching badge skills, working on projects, discussing the meaning of moral codes, and helping youth deal with the difficulties of holding leadership roles. They create diverse new occasions for parental teaching and value socialization at a time when young people are withdrawing from the family.

Characteristics of Youth Groups Which Affect Their Educational Effectiveness

This project identified variables which have a significant effect on how youth groups function. These include:

1. Ideology of troop leaders and other troop adults. (Purpose of group as fun and friends versus purpose of group as achievement.)
2. Degree of adult control and structuring of troop activities.
3. Number and content of formal and informal leadership and other organizational roles held by youth members.
4. Leader expectations for participants' performance.
5. Degree of active parent involvement in troop activities.
6. Total amount of time spent in group settings and allocation of time across different types of activities (such as planning meetings, teaching sessions, camping, fundraising).

Youth Organizations and Culturally Different Youth

Such youth organizations as Boy Scouts and 4-H rarely become established in Alaska Indian and Eskimo villages. Typically outside teachers or community workers start them; the group disappears when the outsider leaves. This study examines an exception--an established youth organization in an Eskimo village. This youth group reflects local cultural patterns. Meetings, awards, ceremonies, and youth leadership roles--central features of scouting and 4-H groups--are de-emphasized. The youth organization provides recreation for the community as well as education for youth. Young people learn how to organize and carry out community projects through working in small cooperative groups, a traditional organizational structure.

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We want to express our appreciation to the many scouting and 4-H leaders, parents, and youth members who contributed to this research. We hope we have represented adequately your point of view.

Special appreciation goes to our research assistants, Elizabeth Andrews, Bill McDiarmid, and Jeffrey Mann. We value their insights from many weekends spent on cold and tiring camp-outs and canoe races. Bill McDiarmid's year in the village of Chevak was especially valuable and has resulted in a separate chapter in this project report.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This project examines the educational experiences youth receive in community-based youth organizations, such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H clubs. We ask:

1. What do these organizations teach adolescents? What skills, values, and attitudes do they transmit and through what kinds of learning situations?
2. Are these organizations providing experiences--such as the chance to conduct a meeting or work for community improvements--which young people rarely have in other educational settings, such as classrooms?
3. Are these organizations effective with culturally different youth--specifically, Alaska Indians and Eskimos--or must their ideology, methods of operation, and activities change for the institution to succeed in a different cultural context?

Our interest in youth organizations as educational settings grows out of the widespread concern with the limitations of the school as a socializing environment. A series of blue ribbon commission reports have emphasized the deficiences of the comprehensive high school as the primary setting for bringing adolescents to adulthood (President's Science Advisory Committee, 1974; National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education, 1976; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979). While these critiques are overstated, they point to a significant problem. High schools stress individualistic academic achievement and place young people in passive, dependent roles. Young people, these reports argue, have little opportunity to assume responsibility, to teach or care for other people, or to do things that actually make a difference to someone else. The high school helps to insulate young people in a peer culture organized around sports, appearance, and popularity.

Young people have little chance to get to know adults other than teachers and members of their families; they have little understanding of the concerns and values which dominate the adult world.

In response to this critique, educators have begun to examine what youth learn in other educational settings and the extent to which these settings provide such opportunities as increased contacts between adults and young people. Most such research has examined what youth learn in the workplace, where young people are spending an increasing amount of out-of-school time. Studies of learning in naturally occurring jobs, however, have found that expected learning opportunities frequently do not materialize (Greenberger and Steinberg, 1981a; Greenberger and Steinberg, 1981b).

Young people also spend time in extracurricular activities and community youth groups. A national 1981 survey found that 52 percent of high school seniors participated in athletics and 75 percent participated in some other school-based activity, such as debate, drama, hobby clubs, or the school newspaper (Peng, Fetters, and Kolstad, 1981). Of these seniors, 22 percent belonged to community youth groups, for example, scouts or Boys' Clubs. Since community-based youth organizations draw most members from the eleven to thirteen year old age group, the proportion of younger adolescents belonging to these groups is larger--about a third of the age group (La Belle, 1981). Unlike the workplace, youth organizations aim to place young people in positions of responsibility, involve them in community projects, and create close working relationships between youth and adults.

The study of such "non-formal educational activities" for children and youth, however, is a neglected area of research. In his recent review of the literature, La Belle (1981:23) concludes that educators do not know much about these groups or what they accomplish:

> We know very little, for example, about the kinds of things that we take for granted when we talk about school, like who are the actors, what is the scope of their relationship and on what does the nonformal education process focus. We also know little about how nonformal education contributes to child development, its relationship to family socialization, or its effects on values, literacy and numeracy, or on a youngster's problem solving skills. Furthermore, we know little about what adults and youngsters who live in different size communities or regions seek from nonformal participation and whether it has agreed upon impact.

This project explores these issues through a series of small-scale studies describing what happens to young people who participate in such youth groups as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H. We suggest that well-run youth groups develop an important set of organizational abilities--teaching young people how to run a meeting, set an agenda, keep a group together, speak in public, and handle the human relations dilemmas that come with assuming formal leadership roles. Youth groups also teach practical skills--what to do in an emergency, first aid, cooking, gardening, etc. Schools do not stress such skills, and parents often lack the knowledge or time to teach them. Youth groups communicate community oriented values--the importance of volunteering, of taking on leadership roles in civic organizations, of fulfilling obligations to teach young people. They create convenient opportunities for young people to participate in civic projects and learn how to organize them.

Youth group socialization, however, is intimately tied to family socialization. Such youth groups as scouts or 4-H are tools of the family; parents use them to communicate values and ideas that they consciously intend to teach their children. Whether young people join youth groups at all and what they learn from them depends on whether their families support these institutions. Decades of educational research have pointed out the close relationship of family background and school achievement. Family background, we suggest, is even more important in influencing whether and what young people learn in youth groups.

RESEARCH STRATEGY

Since educators lack basic descriptive information on what happens in youth groups in either an urban white or a culturally different context, our first research task was to examine examples of major youth groups in each setting.

Urban White Community Study

We selected two examples of major national youth groups--Boy Scout troops, Girl Scout troops, and 4-H community clubs--in an urban white community (a total of six groups). For each, we interviewed troop leaders and at least ten youth members and their parents. We asked about the goals of the organization, major activities, the roles of leaders, parents, and youth, and what young people learned from the experience compared to what they learned in school.

We present the results of this study in the second chapter of this report, "Lessons Out-of-School: Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H Clubs as Educational Environments." This study suggests that youth group membership created valuable learning opportunities for early adolescents. These groups, for example, formed educational relationships between young people and adults outside their families. The adults communicated expectations for achievement and community responsibility. These youth groups taught their members different types of practical skills, such as sewing, gardening, first aid, and carpentry, which most members did not learn at school and few learned at home. Youth organizations put many members in formal leadership and other organizational roles where they practiced such skills as conducting meetings or speaking before a group. In school, few young people reported opportunities to lead a group or plan activities. Youth groups, according to both young people and their parents, were also far more effective than schools in teaching young people the importance of helping the community and showing them exactly how people got together and carried out a community project.

While these initial findings were encouraging, we realized they had serious limitations. First, our exploratory sample of youth groups was quite small--six youth groups in a single community--and our examples had not been selected on a random basis. We did not know whether a large representative sample of youth group members would report similar learning experiences and perceive similar educational benefits.

Second, our initial exploratory study was based primarily on interview data. We had done only a few observations of youth group activities. To what extent were youth and parents responding with no more than organizational ideology and rhetoric when they said, for example, that youth groups provided leadership experiences which were rarely available in school? To examine this question, the most appropriate research approach was an intensive, descriptive study where we could closely observe what actually went on in youth groups and what interpretations participants drew from their experience.

Faced with this choice--a large representative survey of youth group members or a small-scale descriptive study--we chose the latter approach. It made more sense to find out exactly what experiences youth had in these organizations, we believed, than to collect what might be no more than testimonials from a large, representative sample. In addition, our own skills as an anthropologist and educator were better suited to a descriptive rather than a survey approach.

The second component of the research project, therefore, was an intensive study of two Boy Scout troops. We selected Boy Scouts, not Girl Scouts or 4-H groups, because our findings from the first research component indicated that this learning environment was the most different from the classroom and offered the most unusual learning experiences. Boy Scouts, for example, is an all male setting which brings together boys of widely different ages (eleven to seventeen years). Girl Scouts, in contrast, has narrow age grades, much more similar to the age grading system of schools. The wide age grouping of Boy Scouts, our initial research suggested, was significant; it resulted in older boys taking on responsible leadership and teaching roles with inexperienced scouts. In addition, virtually no academic research has looked at Boy Scouts as an educational environment; 4-H community clubs have been relatively well researched, due to the association between 4-H and land grant universities (for reviews of 4-H research, see Kappa Systems, 1979 and Science Management Corporation, 1979).

Our primary research approach to the study of two Boy Scout troops was participant observation. In order to examine the type of learning occurring in Boy Scout troops more explicitly, however, we developed an analytic instrument, "Nonformal Learning: Event Observation and Analysis" (appendix 3). This instrument provided a useful format for analyzing particular events--who were the participants, who were onlookers, what skills and information were taught, what character ideals were displayed, what roles did youth occupy and for how long, and what were the explicit and implicit functions of the events? After each observation of the troop meeting, camp-out, or other activity, we completed this analysis (appendix 3).

In addition to observations, we selected a group of twenty boys for a more intensive study of what boys learned from the troop experience. We conducted interviews with them and their parents and requested parents to complete monthly diaries describing their son's scouting activities and his interpretations of the experience. The methods and results of this study are presented in Chapter 3, "Getting Prepared: Boy Scouts and Adolescent Development."

Given the current debate in the literature in anthropology and education about what is and what is not adequate educational ethnography, we want to make clear that our goal was not to conduct an ethnography of a Boy Scout troop. Our purpose was not to describe Boy Scouts as a cultural system but rather to examine specific educational processes and effects. We used some of the methods of ethnography--participant observation and on-the-spot interviewing--but for a quite different research purpose.

Our third chapter considers the type of education that occurs in Boy Scout troops. We describe the ways in which families with traditional values use Boy Scouts to reinforce these values as their sons enter adolescence. This chapter also describes the educational experiences boys had in troops and their effects in developing outdoor skills, self-confidence, organizational competence, and community-oriented conduct.

Young boys who join Boy Scout troops tend to have certain educational experiences in common. Nonetheless, there are important differences between troops and these differences influence what kind of education boys receive. Numerous studies have contrasted the characteristics of teachers, classrooms, and schools in an effort to understand what types of educational environments increase cognitive achievement. To our knowledge no such research has attempted to identify what characteristics of youth organizations are critical to such outcomes as increasing members' acquisition of practical skills, their organizational capabilities, or their interest in community service.

As a basis for examining such relationships, we attempted to identify significant variables which differentiate between troops and affect the educational experience youth receive. This analysis, reported in Chapter 4, "Two Boy Scout Troops: Induction into Peer Versus Adult Culture" suggests the importance of the following dimensions:

1. Ideology of troop leaders and other troop adults. (Purpose of group as fun and friends versus purpose of group as achievement.)
2. Degree of adult control and structuring of group activities.
3. Number and content of formal and informal leadership and other organizational roles held by youth members.
4. Leader expectations for participants' performance.
5. Degree of active parent involvement in troop activities.
6. Total amount of time spent in group settings and allocation of time across different types of activities (such as planning meetings, teaching sessions, camping, fundraising).

In sum, the contribution of this series of studies was to identify significant educational experiences youth receive in the youth group setting, describe the close linkage between family and youth group socialization, and identify variables which may distinguish between effective and ineffective groups. We leave to other research the task of determining what proportion of youth group members receive such experiences from youth groups, and the task of examining quantitatively relationships between troop characteristics and educational outcomes.

Rural Eskimo and Indian Setting

Our research on youth organizations with culturally different youth led us in a very different direction. When we attempted to locate well functioning Indian and Eskimo Boy Scout, Girl Scout, or 4-H groups in northern Alaska, we could find few established groups. (Since this time Boy Scouts has expended considerable effort and expense to develop a Rural Boy Scout Program in Alaska Native villages; we do not know whether these groups will continue after outside support is less substantial.)

Even when we did locate an established troop in an Alaska Native village, the troop was typically poorly institutionalized and transitory. Typically, an outside white teacher, minister, or VISTA worker started the group, and the young people enjoyed it. When the outsider moved away, the group dissolved.

However, some important exceptions to this pattern occurred. For example, in Gambell (an Eskimo village on St. Lawrence Island) we found a 4-H group with an all Eskimo membership led by Eskimo community members. In Selawik we found an Eskimo Girl Scout troop led by a white teacher. In Nome (a large regional town on the Seward Peninsula with a more westernized Eskimo and white population) we found Girl Scout troops led by Eskimo women. The troops enrolled both Eskimo and white girls.

In Chevak young Eskimo adults had established a village-wide youth organization (Chevak Village Youth Association or CVYA), which included under its auspices a Boy Scout troop and a Girl Scout troop.

The small number of established youth groups in a rural Eskimo or Indian context, despite repeated efforts of scouting and 4-H executives to establish them, suggested significant changes needed to occur in the organizations for them to be institutionalized in a different cultural setting. Our studies of Boy Scout troops supported this view by demonstrating the close link between the belief system of young people's families and the ideology and activities of the youth group.

What research was available on extending 4-H groups to low income, minority youth also suggested the need to re-design youth groups in a culturally different setting. Four-H has substantially modified the community club approach in order to appeal to minority group youth. Programs use indigenous leadership, use paid paraprofessionals as well as volunteers, include activities related to the cultural heritage and immediate interests of inner city youth, and turn 4-H projects into quickly completed, not long-term activities (Parsons, 1971; Kirkpatrick, 1975; Summers and Zeller, 1977).

Our central research question in a rural Eskimo and Indian setting, therefore, differed from the issues we examined in an urban white setting. Rather than focusing on the youth group experience and its effects, we attempted to examine what kind of youth organization was appropriate in the cultural context--what took root. The fifth chapter, "Getting it Together in Chevak: A Case Study of a Youth Organization in a Rural Alaskan Village," describes an established, well-functioning youth organization in a traditional Eskimo community. What makes this organization particularly interesting is that it is entirely indigenous and self-supporting. The Chevak Village Youth Association evolved in response to specific problems of youth in the village--limited leisure time activities, increasing drug and alcohol abuse, and need for skills for self-determination.

The Chevak Village Youth Association, like scouting and 4-H groups, gives young people experience in organizing and carrying out community projects and service activities. Its structure and methods of operation are quite different from those of scouting and 4-H groups in an urban white setting. Although nominally an organization for youth, for example, CVYA sponsors events for the entire community. It has no fixed membership list; youth belong in a diffuse fashion. Youth do not occupy formal leadership roles but work with adults in a cooperative organizational pattern. The organization provides no badges or other insignia of achievement which single youth out from the group. CVYA, in short, reflects the values and organizational patterns characteristic of traditional Eskimo villages.

This study, as well as our research on urban white scouting and 4-H groups, underscores the intimate links between a voluntary youth organization and the values, goals, and social patterns of the adults who establish them. The Boy Scout troops we studied were a distillation of the beliefs of a particular subculture of adults. It is not sufficient, as past research has done, to label these adults as "white middle class." Rather they were a group who shared a particular cluster of traditional values--achievement, advancement, patriotism, religiosity, and community service. The Chevak Village Youth Association reflects quite different values and purposes, but it, too, is tightly linked to a particular community subculture.

Youth organizations, we conclude, can provide significant educational experiences for young people which they do not receive in schools. Such national programs as scouting and 4-H groups, however, can attract and socialize only a small fraction of youth--those whose families and cultural background support the particular ideology and approach of the programs. Government agencies and school systems should recognize the accomplishments of such groups and assist them. However, it is important to examine other forms of youth organizations which can provide similar experiences to young people whose background does not support the value themes and expressive styles of scouting or 4-H.

ORGANIZATION OF REPORT

Since we organized our research project into separate components, our results are more easily presented in separate chapters. The second chapter, "Lessons Out-of-School: Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H Clubs as Educational Environments" presents an overview of what leaders, youth participants, and parents of scouting and 4-H groups perceive as the significant educational effects of the youth group experience. The third chapter, "Getting Prepared: Boy Scouts and Adolescent Development" describes in detail how families use Boy Scouts and what boys gain from the experience. The fourth chapter, "Two Boy Scout Troops: Induction into Peer Versus Adult Culture" identifies critical variables in troop functioning which influence the type of educational experience boys receive. The fifth chapter, "Getting it Together in Chevak: A Case Study of a Youth Organization in a Rural Alaskan Village" describes a form of youth organization successful in a cross-cultural context. The appendices present the measuring instruments used in these studies. We want to make them available to other researchers interested in youth groups.

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CHAPTER 2

LESSONS OUT-OF-SCHOOL: BOY SCOUTS, GIRL SCOUTS AND 4-H CLUBS AS EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENTS

by

Judith Kleinfeld and Anne Shinkwin

INTRODUCTION

This study examines the educational experiences youth receive in community-based youth organizations, such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H clubs. This research focuses on two questions:

1. How do the educational goals and social structure of these organizations differ from those of conventional schools?

2. Do the structural characteristics of these organizations make them more effective than schools in providing certain types of learning opportunities for youth?

Educators have become increasingly concerned with the limitations of the classroom as a socializing environment. The comprehensive high school, traditionally viewed as a great historical achievement, is coming to be regarded as a limited and deficient socializing institution.

Within the last few years, a series of blue-ribbon commission reports have urged major changes in secondary education (e.g. President's Science Advisory Committee, 1974; National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education, 1976; Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979). These studies emphasize a similar theme: Conventional high schools may be well-designed to teach cognitive skills. However, they fail to provide a range of other experiences important to growing up. The high school, it is argued, isolates youth from adults and from the productive work of society and places youth in passive, dependent roles. Young people have little opportunity to take responsibility and to engage in activities that actually matter to anyone else. These social arrangements intensify a youth culture organized around sports, popularity, and trivial concerns.

The report of the President's Science Advisory Committee (1974), the most influential of these studies, argues that formal schooling should be supplemented with other types of socializing experiences. These other educational environments should:

1) Increase the contact of youth with adults other than family members and professional teachers. Through these relationships, young people can gain skills, ideas, and information. Adults can transmit the values and behavioral norms that organize the workplace and other productive settings of the society. These adults can also serve as mentors and counselors at adolescence, a time when many youth are drawing away from their own parents in their efforts to establish independence.

2) Give youth the opportunity to assume responsible roles. Young people need to learn how to fulfill obligations and how to act in situations where others depend on them. Youth should have the experience of initiating and organizing activities, not only passively following school routines.

3) Provide opportunities for young people to work cooperatively with others. Schools emphasize individual activities and competitive achievement. Many productive tasks in the adult world require the ability to work effectively in cooperative endeavors. Young people should learn how to work on tasks as a member of an interdependent group.

In response to this critique of the socializing institutions in which contemporary youth are brought to adulthood, educators have been examining the potential of other settings. The workplace is most commonly proposed as an educational environment where young people can develop relationships with adults and assume active, responsible roles. Yet, recent research suggests that the expected learning opportunities frequently fail to occur. In a study of part-time employment as a socializing context, Greenberger and Steinberg (1981a; 1981b) examined the experiences of 531 tenth and eleventh graders, a group of 212 first-time workers and 319 students who had never worked. The work setting, they found, provided some opportunities for young people to develop personal responsibility, defined as doing what was expected and being punctual. However, young people rarely did more than what was assigned. Moreover, the types of part-time jobs youth commonly held did not put them in close contact with adults who functioned as teachers or mentors. These jobs provided few opportunities to acquire new skills, practice skills learned in school, or cooperate with others on common enterprises. "Private sector employers," Greenberger and Steinberg (1981a:22) argue, "are not in business to facilitate youth development. If the workplace is to be a viable setting for socializing young people and facilitating their transition to adulthood, it has to be constructed with these goals in mind."

Research on the effects of planned educational experiences in work settings, however, shows mixed effects. Crowe and Adams (1979) have analyzed the literature evaluating four types of national experiential education programs for adolescents in work settings: Experienced-Based Career Education, the Career Intern Program, the Executive High School Internship Program, and Neighborhood Youth Corps. These programs represent major, carefully developed efforts to use the workplace for educational purposes. They have also been rigorously evaluated by multiple research strategies. According to testimony from students and parents, these programs generally succeeded in increasing students' ability to accept responsibility, their self-awareness, their knowledge of work environments, and their job skills. Yet, when such outcomes were measured more rigorously through structured tests given to the work experience group and a comparison group, these benefits did not consistently emerge.

These conflicting reports may be due to the inadequacy of the structured tests, which are not sufficiently sensitive to detect actual effects of these planned work experiences. Yet, it is also possible that these studies do not show clearer benefits because substantial benefits do not usually occur. The workplace is organized to get a job done, not to teach young people. Youth are temporary and usually unskilled members of a work setting. Investing substantial time in teaching such transient participants is likely to be inefficient, a cost to the organization, and a diversion from its central purpose. Descriptive studies of work experience programs suggest that work situations vary a great deal in the time adults are willing to spend with young people and in whether young people receive challenging assignments or prefer repetitive, low level tasks (Moore, 1981; Twarog and Crowe, 1979).

As Hamilton (1981) points out, a key distinction in experiential education is whether the program places adolescents as individuals in adult settings or whether adolescents function as a group carrying out projects under adult guidance. It may be far easier to design beneficial eduational experiences for adolescents working together as a group. Hedin's (1980) study of 30 experiential education programs (adventure education, volunteer community service, career internships, and community study/political action) found that many of these programs appeared to have positive effects on students' relationships with adults, sense of social responsibility, and interest in community participation. While detailed results of this study are not yet available, it is interesting that many of these programs involved adolescents as a group.

These types of experiential education programs, however, are infrequent in American schools and are difficult to establish within school schedules. In searching for educational environments which overcome the limitations of conventional schools, educators have neglected to examine the nonformal youth education common in American society. Extracurricular activities, church groups, community sports, and community-based youth organizations such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H clubs generally involve adolescents working in cooperative endeavors with informal adult guidance. Many of these youth activities may appear too trivial and commonplace to warrant serious attention. Yet, these settings may be to some extent providing young people with the kinds of experiences educational critics are searching for in the workplace and in special experiential programs. For example, Coleman, Beckman, and Wheatley (1979), in a study examining the effects of both planned and naturally occurring work-experience on how youth relate to adults, unexpectedly found that participation in extracurricular activities had far greater impact than work experience. Youth who were involved in extracurricular activities saw adults as more empathetic and helpful, felt more comfortable with them, and consulted them more often on important decisions.

Our understanding of young people's actual experience growing up in contemporary American society requires attention to these nonformal educational institutions. Through participation in such settings, youth may have more experiences of cooperative effort, social responsibility, organizing activities, and working closely with adults than educational critics assume. If the structure of these organizations facilitates such experiences, they represent an important, accessible point for educational change. These institutions are widely available to youth and operate in a much less rigid organizational environment than the school.

The study of nonformal education programs for children and youth, however, is a neglected area of research. As La Belle (1981:23) concludes in his review of this field:

> We know very little, for example, about the kinds of things that we take for granted when we talk about school, like who are the actors, what is the scope of their relationship and on what does the nonformal education process focus. We also know little about how nonformal education contributes to child development, its relationship to family socialization, or its effects on values, literacy and numeracy, or on a youngster's problem solving skills. Furthermore, we know little about what adults and youngsters who live in different size communities or regions seek from nonformal participation and whether it has agreed upon impact.

Community-based youth groups particularly have received little attention. Their role in American society has been briefly mentioned in the sociological community studies of the 1930's and 1940's (cf. Lynd and Lynd, 1937; Warner, 1949) where they have been viewed primarily in terms of their relationship to community class structure (Warner and Lunt, 1941). A more recent community study focusing on youth has retained this orientation (Hollingshead, 1975). While the educational functions of youth organizations in other cultures have been studied (e.g. Cave, 1972; Eaton, 1970), their educational role in the United States is unclear.

This exploratory study of Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and 4-H groups suggests that these types of youth organizations are well-structured to provide significant socializing experiences. This paper examines first the educational goals of these three organizations, what the organizations themselves are attempting to accomplish. Second, we look at the social organization of the learning situation and the roles youth and adults occupy. Third, we explore the learning experiences that occur in well-functioning examples of these organizations.

METHODS

This study uses several sources of information: organizational publications, research literature, and field data we gathered on two examples of each youth group (Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H).

Organizational literature. Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts publish national handbooks for adult volunteer leaders and youth members in each organizational division and a series of leaders' guides and handbooks.[1] While state cooperative extension services provide general guidebooks for leaders and youth, 4-H does not publish a single handbook for all leaders or youth members. Rather, the national literature consists of specialized project guides. The specific project-centered nature of the 4-H literature, contrasted with the more general, ideological literature of the scouting organizations, reflects their contrasting emphases as educational institutions. Analysis of the organizational literature which contains official goals, social structure and educational approach, allowed us to construct the organizational ideal and examine the extent to which the youth groups we observed followed this pattern.

Research Literature. The research literature on these national youth organizations is sparse, largely out of date, and not primarily concerned with identifying educational processes and effects. Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H groups have evoked little interest from academics studying such topics as youth socialization, child development, or organizational change.

Access to much of the research literature, limited as it is, is difficult since it is not generally available in conventional sources, such as journals and other academic publications. Information on scouting consists primarily of reports commissioned by the organizations.[2] These reports focus on membership and program characteristics, interests of the target age groups, and reasons for declining enrollments. Since 4-H is a government-sponsored organization associated with land-grant universities, its activities have been the subject of government evaluations and many student papers and dissertations. This literature is circulated primarily to 4-H staff at University Cooperative Extension Services through reports and abstracts. Much of it has recently been compiled, critically evaluated, and reviewed in the course of a national evaluation of Cooperative Extension programs (Evaluation of Economic and Social Consequences of Cooperative Extension Programs, 1980; Kappa Systems, 1979; Science Management Corporation, 1979).

Exploratory Field Study of Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and 4-H Groups. In order to examine the educational processes occurring in these organizations, we studied two 4-H community clubs, two Girl Scout troops, and two Boy Scout troops through interviews, questionnaires, and observations. This data provided an empirical base through which the respective organizational approaches could be examined.

Since we were interested in the educational potential of these settings, we asked the local executive director of each program to nominate two examples of "strong" groups. The non-specific term "strong" was used as the selection criterion in order to obtain the organization's own viewpoint on how these groups should function. In each of these six youth groups, we interviewed the leader and any assistant leaders, at least 10 youth members (selected as representative members by the leader), and a parent of each youth member. A total of 133 youth organization interviews were conducted. Of these, 63 were youth interviews, 54 were parent interviews, and 16 were interviews with leaders, assistant leaders, and executive directors.

The youth interviewed were stable, active organizational members. Over 80 percent had been members for over a year, and 35 percent had been in the organization three years or longer. Of the group, 93 percent said they attended most meetings. About 92 percent of the participants were white, and over 75 percent were young adolescents in the 11 to 14 year old age bracket. About 40 percent of their fathers were in professional occupations with another third in skilled laboring positions. The youth studied, in short, were predominantly white, early adolescents who came from somewhat higher socio-economic status families than the general population. Their characteristics resembled national membership patterns (Survey Research Center, 1960; Evaluation of Economic and Social Consequences of Cooperative Extension Programs, 1980; Program of the Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., 1958).

The interviews for leaders, parents, and youth consisted of semi-structured questions concerning organizational goals, differences they saw between the school and youth organization as educational environments, and their perception of what was learned from youth group participation. Questions were designed to avoid "leading" the respondant. For example, rather than asking parents whether Boy Scouts had any effect on developing their son's ability to lead a group, we asked the general question, "What kinds of things has your child gotten out of belonging to Boy Scouts?" We also requested specific details and examples to substantiate broad statements of effects like "learned responsibility."

Questions of this type, while avoiding leading the respondant, suffer from the problem of "false negatives." Parents tended to talk about what was salient to them and to forget to mention other outcomes. For this reason, we also requested parents and youth to complete a questionnaire which systematically requested their perceptions of whether particular educational effects had occurred. The questionnaire was administered after the interview to avoid biasing earlier responses.

In addition, we observed for each organization at least two examples of group meetings and special events, such as Girl Scout Day, Scout-O-Rama, and 4-H Speech and Demonstration Day.

THE YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR GOALS

Community youth groups enroll approximately a third of American school age children and youth (La Belle, 1981). According to the national office of Boy Scouts of America, in 1980, Boy Scouts alone enrolled 1,064,993 11-13 year old boys, 20 percent of the available age group.[3] The national office of Girl Scouts of the United States of America estimates membership at 2,267,380 girls from 6-17 years, 11 percent of the age group. The U.S. Department of Agriculture's extension program placed 4-H community club enrollment in 1981 at almost 2,000,000 youths between 9-19 years, about 4 percent of the age group.[4] These membership figures, however, indicate registration, not necessarily active or long-term participation.

Scouting and 4-H clubs generally operate outside the formal school system under the direction of adults from the community. Each organization has developed a general curriculum and pedagogy which local groups adapt to their particular situation. These organizations are sufficiently well regarded in the community to be able to enlist the time and services of large numbers of adult volunteers. Approximately 2,221,000 adults are members.[5] In addition to these long-term volunteers, these organizations enlist the services of many other adults in working with youth in particular projects and activities.

According to the organizational literature, the goals of Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H center on developing character and acquiring useful skills. The scouting organizations stress character building and view skill development either as a secondary goal or as a method for teaching good character. In 4-H, knowledge or skill acquisition is a central objective equal in importance with character development. Each organization combines recreation with educational activities intended to teach personal qualities and skills.

While character building and skill development are general themes in all three organizations, the ideology and ethos of the groups differ. Boy Scout troops communicate a value system reflecting white American middle class norms concerning appropriate adult male behavior. Teamwork, cooperation with other males, individual achievement and recognition, ability to assume leadership, competition on an individual and group level, and learning how to deal with unfamiliar adults are important emphases of the Boy Scout system.

Girl Scouts, in contrast, has revised its organizational materials to emphasize contemporary themes in female socialization. The dominant theme of contemporary Girl Scout ideology is personal growth and personal choice. The educational approach emphasizes developing self-awareness, defining personal interests and values, and learning to make decisions.

The program emphasis in 4-H is less ideological and more concerned with a theory of learning. According to this philosophy, learning occurs by doing the things to be learned. Learning should be practical, problem-oriented, experience-oriented, meaningful to the learner, and produce a product.

These different organizational emphases affect the social meaning of the activities. In 4-H, you study cooking to learn to cook well; in Boy Scouts you study cooking to learn to cook and to learn to be self-reliant; in Girl Scouts you study cooking to learn to cook and to learn whether you do or don't like cooking.

The somewhat different educational emphases of these organizations can be traced to their historical origins. The concept of scouting originated with Robert Baden-Powell of the British military who developed the idea for soldiers and constables scattered in small groups under primitive conditions (Scoutmaster's Handbook,1972). In these units, every man was on his honor to carry out his duties, part of a patrol of six under a senior constable, and taught to give his services ("do a good turn") whenever needed. The organizational motto was "Be Prepared". These concepts remain important in contemporary scout troops.

In the United States, scouting groups for both boys and girls were developed by civic-minded members of the community who wanted to provide wholesome activities for the growing population of urban youth. The change from an agrarian to an urban industrial economy in the late 1900's created serious concern about the "adolescence," a newly recognized stage in child development characterized by troubled behavior (Demos, 1978). According to the prevalent view of the time, urban youth, detached from useful farm activities, had excess leisure and little opportunity for manual activities and a healthy outdoor life (Cubberly, 1919; Bezucha, 1959). Boy Scouts was conceived as an educational institution to provide the camping and outdoor experiences which would teach manly qualities (Hantover, 1978). Girl Scouts was modeled closely after the Boy Scout program, but it originally was designed to prepare girls for traditional female roles and obligations.

4-H, in contrast, was developed by school professionals with the support of the federal government as a method of introducing useful practical skills into rural education (Reck, 1951). The curriculum and values imparted in rural classrooms, it was believed, did not prepare or motivate students for agricultural occupations. The development of practical skills applicable to rural life was being neglected in favor of the traditional "3 R's." 4-H clubs originated as a method of training boys and girls in agricultural and home skills. Typically, county superintendents of education organized out-of-school activities, such as cattle-raising or sewing, and arranged for competitive events.

The Smith-Lever Act, passed in 1914, established the Cooperative Extension Service as a means of distributing information on agriculture and home economics and provided financial support for youth clubs. 4-H clubs were viewed as a mechanism for demonstrating to tomorrow's farmers and their parents the latest scientific and technological discoveries in agriculture.

While the general ideology and social structure of scouting and 4-H has remained stable since the early 1900's, specific emphases have changed. Girl Scouts, for example, now streeses career development, not only domestic and outdoor activities. 4-H has attempted to appeal to urban youth by emphasizing such activities as automotive repair and by developing more diverse, short-term program approaches (Meyers, 1979). The historical stability of these organizations, however, has contributed to a common experience shared by generations of youth members and leaders and is an important factor in understanding the overall character of these organizations today.

Our survey of youth organization leaders, parents, and youth in scouting and 4-H groups indicates close agreement of local participants with the goals presented in the organizational literature.[6] When asked about the goals of Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H nearly all leaders rated as "very important" the development of leadership qualities (14 of 15 leaders), good character and citizenship (13 of 15 leaders), community service (12 of 15 leaders), and skill development (11 of 15 leaders).

Parents and youth members, like leaders, saw the central purposes of these organizations as teaching new skills, teaching the importance of helping the community, developing character and citizenship, and developing the ability to plan activities (table 1). Parents and youth ascribed much

TABLE 1

Parent and Youth Views of Educational Goals and Benefits of Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H Groups*

	Proportion Viewing Goal as "Very Important"		Proportion Perceiving "A Lot of Benefit"		Proportion Perceiving Youth Organization as More Effective than School	
	Parent	Youth	Parent	Youth	Parent	Youth
Developing leadership	69%	67%	72%	62%	63%	69%
Teaching importance of helping community	79%	79%	72%	67%	69%	67%
Teaching how to plan activities	79%	63%	77%	62%	45%	64%
Providing free time activities	50%	32%	41%	22%	63%	56%
Increasing parent/ youth togetherness	29%	35%	39%	40%	41%	45%
Having fun	52%	40%	54%	50%	45%	38%
Developing character and citizenship	79%	68%	68%	59%	34%	37%
Teaching new skills	81%	79%	77%	73%	19%	33%
Helping youth find friends	48%	46%	50%	49%	30%	29%
Preventing drinking and drug use	50%	52%	27%	31%	32%	19%
N =	48	63	48	61	46	62

*Since very few differences appeared between different youth groups, they are combined in the analysis.

SOURCE: ISER Survey of Youth Organizations, 1980.

less importance to the organization's recreational role in helping youth have something to do in their free time, have fun, or make friends.

In sum, this exploratory survey suggests that these organizations have been very successful in communicating their overall aims to their membership. The young adolescents in these organizations, as well as their parents and leaders, share a high degree of consensus about the purposes of the youth group experience.

The organizational ideology provides a framework through which participants interpret the meaning of their youth group experiences and its effects on them. An adolescent we interviewed, for example, explained why she had gotten up early to help on Community Clean-Up Day in terms of learning social responsibility: "You have to be loyal to 4-H; like on Clean-Up Day you would go out and not sleep in because you want the city to be beautiful. You have to be responsible." The ideology, we suggest, functions cognitively as an "advance organizer"; it helps define the nature of the experience. When asked about program effects, young people tend to reply with program ideology (e.g. "I learned responsibility"). It is important to recognize, however, that these responses are not merely testimonials reflecting organizational rhetoric but also respondents' interpretations of the actual meaning of their experience.

We suspect that the organizational ideology also makes these concepts more salient to young people, that these concepts become part of their world view or cognitive equipment for assessing things. One mother, for example, pointed out that her eleven year old son had begun to talk about people as "not being responsible." Before joining an active scouting troop, he had not used this concept to assess other people's behavior.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Since the social organization of scouting and 4-H groups is not common knowledge, we will briefly describe features of these groups which shape the learning experiences they provide. These include the broad age range of youth in the social unit, the active leadership roles available for youth, the low dominance role of the adult leader, and the educational roles available to adults from the community.

Boy Scout troops are most extreme on these dimensions and create a social unit most different from the classroom. Membership in a Boy Scout troop places a boy in a social environment unlike that probably encountered elsewhere. He is a member of an all-male association, surrounded by boys ranging in age from 10½ to 17, some of whom operate in formal mentor roles, as well as adult males in mentor roles.

The ideal Boy Scout troop structure is a boy-run environment with adults coaching from the sidelines. Multiple opportunities exist for boys to assume leadership roles. Boy leaders, such as the senior patrol leader, assistant senior patrol leader, scribe and historian, conduct troop meetings and plan and organize troop activities. In addition, boys are organized into small patrols of perhaps six to eight boys. Each patrol has a patrol leader and assistant patrol leader, who have such responsibilities as holding patrol meetings to build a patrol sled and getting boys to attend meetings.

Several other social institutions in Boy Scout troops are important in understanding the roles boys assume and the educational relationships that occur. The officers of the troop, together with the patrol leaders, meet in a Troop Leadership Council. Ideally, it is this group, not the adult leader, which plans troop activities, such as activities at weekly meetings, camp-outs, and special events. In addition, to advance in scout rank, each boy must pass a Board of Review. The boy meets privately with more experienced scouts (for the initial scout ranks) or adults (for the higher scout ranks) who review his qualifications and ask him questions about scout skills, ideology, and the application of scout values in his own life. The Board of Review functions much like an oral examination or a job interview and is often the first time young boys have encountered such situations.

Acquiring badges and advancing in rank are an important focus of troop activities. To attain the higher scout ranks requires completing a series of badges, including first aid, emergency preparedness, and citizenship in the community. Many badge requirements resemble the "competencies" emphasized in current school reforms and experiential education programs (e.g. "Tell how to do seven of the following in your community: (1) Report a fire; (2) Report an automobile accident; (3) Call an ambulance; (4) Report damage to electric power, gas, or water system, etc.") In addition, the higher ranks require substantial troop leadership experience and performance of community service.

Badge skills are learned at home, at scout camp, on camping trips, and at troop meetings. Indeed, the most common meeting activity we observed consisted of more experienced scouts teaching younger boys merit badge skills. The scout office or troop also maintains a list of merit badge counselors, adults who are expert in skill areas. Scouts occasionally contact these counselors and arrange for teaching sessions.

Girl Scout troops are organized into much narrower age grades than Boy

Scout troops (Juniors, ages 9-11; Cadettes, ages 12-14; Seniors, ages 14-17). This age structure makes it easier to plan interesting activities appropriate to the girls' developmental stage. However, it reduces opportunities for the girls to assume teaching and other mentor roles within the troop.

In Girl Scout troops, the ideal leader is a supportive, nurturant figure who creates an atmosphere where girls can express their own ideas, make choices, and test the consequences of these choices. "Girl planning," is a key concept, reflected in the girls' choice of social organization for the troop. Troops can be organized in patrols with multiple leadership positions and outside patrol activities. Troop leadership roles, such as scribe or treasurer, are also available. Troop leaders, patrol leaders, and adult leaders make up a Court of Honor, which structurally and functionally is the equivalent of the Boy Scout Troop Leadership Council. Girl Scout troops may choose to organize a steering committee, elected by the troop, or operate as a town meeting with everyone participating in the planning process rather than use the patrol method and Court of Honor.

In Girl Scout troops, earning badges and advancing in rank is also a matter of troop or individual choice, rather than a general program emphasis. Badge activities include learning various practical skills, career exploration, and service projects. Doing badgework often requires assistance from adults, such as the leader, an adult volunteer who comes to troop meetings, or parents. New program materials in Girl Scouts also encourage girls in the Cadette and Senior age grades to establish relationships with adult advisors from the community who work with the girl on a badge, challenge, interest, or career project.

The traditional 4-H community club draws together a large group of young people from a wide age range (9 to 19 years). A Junior Leader program, however, is also available for youth who are 13 or older. The community club elects youth officers who run the meetings according to parliamentary procedures. The community club also may plan special events and organize service activities, such as collecting toys for children in the hospital. The community club typically meets once a month, and parents often attend club meetings and other events.

In addition to participating in the large community club, 4-H members also join one or more small project clubs. These projects, for example, may be raising an animal, learning to bake bread, learning to do carpentry, or learning to do photography. Typically, project leaders are neighbors or parents of 4-H members who teach their personal hobby or an occupational skill. In addition, Junior Leaders often help teach younger children in the project groups. These groups, consisting of perhaps five to eight members, may meet several times a month for several months, usually in the home of the project leader. In addition, many 4-H projects emphasize work done at home with parental assistance. 4-H youth learn to keep detailed written records describing what they did on the project, what they learned, materials used, and costs.

Like scouting groups, 4-H has a recognition program which rewards youth for achievements and offers special honors to youth demonstrating a combination of advanced skill development, leadership, and community service. Unlike scouting, 4-H does not have a rank advancement system. Rather youth enter a series of local, statewide, and national 4-H competitions. These events often require giving public demonstrations and speeches. Awards may have substantial value, such as an expense-paid trip to the National 4-H Congress in Chicago.

In such a brief description of these three groups, we cannot detail many interesting aspects of the learning situation. Moreover, it is important to recognize that we have presented the organizational ideal. The particular troops and community clubs we observed did resemble the recommended structure in most ways. However, adults typically occupied much more directive roles than prescribed in the organizational literature.

Nonetheless, the ideology and social organization of these groups provide a setting where youth occupy roles in relationship to other youth and adults that are very different from the roles they occupy in school. The youth group environment, unlike the workplace, is youth centered and supported by the voluntary involvement of adults who are explicitly concerned with effective socialization. At a minimum, participation in one of these youth organizations should:

1) increase youth contact with non-familial adults who teach practical skills and transmit adult values
2) place youth in positions where they learn how to plan and organize group activities and work within a cooperative group
3) provide opportunities for youth to practice community responsibility
4) create new occasions for parents to teach their children.

The following section of this paper examines these projected outcomes, in light of our field data.

LEARNING EXPERIENCES

Our interviews and observations suggest that participation in scouting and 4-H groups leads to a consistent set of learning experiences. Our purpose here is to identify these experiences in our sample of six well-functioning youth groups.

Increased Contact with Adults

The youth group experience created a system of educational relationships between young adolescents and adults outside their own families. Most of these adults functioned explicitly as mentors, teachers, and counselors, although in a much more personal and less directive fashion than in the school setting. Moreover, the type of adult the youth group drew into these relationships tended to be civic-minded individuals whose values complimented and reinforced the values of the young person's family.

The 4-H community clubs created a network of relationships between young people and adults who taught such projects as carpentry, quilting, forestry, and cooking. Typically, the adults not only taught the particular skill but also used the occasion to introduce other educational subjects and discuss topics of neighborhood interest. For example, one 4-H quilting leader described how she played a variety of music during project meetings to expand students' knowledge. Exposure to other adults also occurred at community club meetings where, for example, a local farmer talked to the group about how to raise pigs and a parent presented a slide show of his sabbatical in Wales. Most of the adults lived in the same general neighborhood, and many were parents of youth members. The 4-H parents we interviewed, unlike those of the scouting organizations, often mentioned that one of the benefits of 4-H was that it created occasions for the neighbors to get together, exchange information, and tackle neighborhood problems.

In Girl Scout troops, girls primarily developed relationships with their scout leader and assistant leaders, who usually had children in the troop. Leaders stressed that they acted as "counselors" for the girls, and both parents and girls saw leaders in this role. The leader was a person who could talk to girls about sex or drugs, topics that parents were not always comfortable with. A variety of people from the community also visited troops to teach skills. For example, a middle aged Indian woman taught beading, and a retired man taught the proper use of a knife.

In the Boy Scout troops we observed, the relationship between the boys and adult leader ranged from casual contact (in the case of new members) to intense prolonged interaction, particularly with older scouts. One scoutmaster, for example, visited senior patrol leaders at their homes to discuss troop problems. He also worked out the details of community service projects with boys advancing to higher ranks, for example, helping a boy diagram new construction he was doing for a church.

Developing in young boys the competence to communicate with new adults is an explicit educational emphasis in Boy Scouts. This training is considered essential to prepare boys for the business world and for community leadership. Boys were expected to call up merit badge counselors, many of whom they had not met, and arrange for teaching sessions. Parents reported that this was a very painful task for their children. However, some boys did extend their social networks to include other community adults through the troop context. For example, a young lawyer recruited by the troop taught a citizenship badge, a trucker took boys out to work with his equipment for a transportation badge, and a church youth counselor prepared boys for a religious scout award.

The scout program created many other occasions for contact between youth and adults. Boys advancing to higher ranks were required to face a Board of Review, composed of troop parents and sometimes a representative from the scout office. In one troop, boys, many of whom were ages 11-13, sold flag contracts to local businessmen. This project required them to approach strangers in significant community positions, explain the offer to place flags at their businesses on major holidays, and complete a formal contract between the business and the troop. Scouting activities also drew parents into teaching roles with other people's children. One father, for example, spent his Saturday showing his son's patrol how to build a sled for a camp-out.

Youth groups not only increase adolescents' relationships with adults but also increase their relationship with a certain type of adult. The workplace, particularly naturally occurring part-time jobs, creates contacts between adolescents and adults whom families do not usually know. The youth organization, in contrast, creates contacts between youth and adults whom families trust to socialize their children. Research on the characteristics of adult leaders of youth groups suggest that they tend to be married, family oriented, religious, middle aged adults who are active in civic affairs (Survey Research Center, 1960; Adults in Girl Scouting, 1958; Pozza, 1966; Reagan, 1959; Brown and Boyle, 1964). Indeed, a national survey of Scoutmasters concluded that the majority of Scoutmasters represent "the model of responsible, socially approved citizens of our society--family men with higher than average education, responsible work roles, concern for the affairs of the community, and involvement in some religious group (Survey Research Center, 1960:304.)"

A recurrent theme in our interviews with parents, was the parents' admiration for the youth group leader, who contributed so much time, money, and energy to working with their children. Our interviews also suggested that the parents and leaders shared a common set of values concerning the appropriate development of children, even though parents and leaders were often quite different from each other in socioeconomic status, background, skills, and occupational roles.

Adults in these youth group settings communicated both explicitly and subtly the expectations of the adult world and their own convictions. In one troop meeting, for example, a Scoutmaster tried to start a conversation with a boy about a recent newspaper article. When the boy said he hadn't read it, the Scoutmaster exclaimed loudly, "You didn't read the newspaper? How can I have a discussion with you guys if you don't read the newspaper!"

Our observations of functioning youth groups suggests an interpretation somewhat different from the traditional view, that youth organizations segregate adolescents from the adult world (Hollingshead, 1975; Kett, 1977). Youth groups, we argue, increase exposure to adults and their concerns but do so selectively. They create social relationships between youth and a particular group of adults who hold traditional, community oriented values.

Exposure to New Skills

Acquiring practical knowledge and skills was the most obvious kind of learning that occurred in the youth group setting. In the groups we observed, most activities centered on teaching young people useful skills that they did not learn at school and that parents were often unable to teach them. As a 4-H member commented, "I don't learn sewing at home. My mother doesn't sew so she wanted me to learn and teach her." Even where parents did have the skills to teach their children, some parents emphasized that they were usually too busy to do much teaching or that the project format provided needed structure. One father teaching a 4-H carpentry project remarked, "My boy would have learned some anyway, but this focuses it. It sets a goal and specifies a unit. Records get turned in and everyone looks at it."

Each organization emphasized different types of practical skills. Boy Scout troops focused on outdoor survival skills, camping skills, handling emergencies, and athletic skills (table 2). Girl Scout members also learned outdoor skills, but their program centered as well on craftwork and domestic activities. 4-H participants said that they learned crafts, domestic skills, and mechanical and electrical competencies useful for home repair. The practical skills taught reflected a blend of the national program, local concerns, youth interests, and the particular competencies of adult leaders. Adults taught what they knew about and what they found important in their own lives. The organizations all emphasized "learning by doing," and many skills were presented or practiced within a relevant context--learning how to start a fire on a sub-zero camp-out, learning how to cook a snack after school.

Youth group activities, however, also provided opportunities for young people to use and practice school skills. Many projects, particularly in the scouting troops, required primarily verbal abstract learning (table 2). For example, scout merit badges required young people to write a letter to a public official about a national issue, report on a world problem facing the United States, and explain the meaning of concepts, such as "biosphere."

TABLE 2

Educational Experiences Youth Report in Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H Groups

	Boy Scouts	Girl Scouts	4-H	Total
Practical Knowledge and Skills				
Outdoor skills	100%	90%	15%	70%
Arts and Craftwork	23	95	85	67
Domestic skills	14	62	85	52
Mechanical, electrical, and other related skills	59	19	60	46
Individual sports	77	38	5	41
Emergency skills	86	29	-	40
Personal appearance	-	38	5	14
Verbal Abstract Knowledge	77	62	25	56
Role Learning				
How to lead a group	64	5	35	35
How to speak in public	42	-	55	32
How to plan and organize an activity	23	33	35	30
How to work in a group	27	19	15	21
How to teach	41	5	0	16
Character and Values				
Community service	32	57	65	52
Citizenship	91	5	5	35
Personal development	32	24	5	21
N =	22	21	20	63

SOURCE: ISER Survey of Youth Organizations, 1980.

While 4-H projects rarely focused on such school-like activities, the project records describing the activity and its costs reinforced school skills.

Despite these types of verbal abstract activities, the majority of youth we interviewed saw the youth group learning experience as mostly different from school (61 percent) or only somewhat similar (31 percent). When asked a general question about how learning in the youth organization compared to learning in school, participants said the youth group provided different subjects, methods, and learning opportunities (55 percent), that learning was more fun and interesting (36 percent), that there was greater freedom (40 percent), and that the situation was more informal and personal (22 percent). As one 4-H member said: "You have a say in what you want to learn. There are not all the pressures of doing things fast and getting a real good grade. If you want to learn something new that they don't have you can. For example, if you want to learn aeronautics, you could find a person to teach it or learn it yourself."

Parents and youth agreed that one of the major benefits of the youth organization was teaching new skills (table 1). For example, one Boy Scout emphasized: "Scouting gives you basic things you can use. [I've learned] emergency skills, which really happens a lot in Alaska. If you get lost, you can survive in the wilderness. Before I joined Boy Scouts, I hardly knew anything about wilderness. Now I'm pretty good at it."

While parents and youth stressed practical skills youth had gained, they rated youth organizations as less effective than schools in teaching skills (table 1). This result, however, probably reflects the inadequacy of our measure; our questionnaire did not distinquish between cognitive and practical skills.

The research literature on scouting and 4-H groups also suggests that these organizations teach skills youth do not typically acquire elsewhere. For example, a national survey of 11-13 year old boys found that Boy Scouts, significantly more than boys who were non-members, considered themselves competent in a number of areas stressed in the scouting program (Survey Research Center, 1960). More scouts felt they know how to report a fire, what to do if lost in the woods, how to care for a bad cut, how to give artificial respiration, how to use a compass, and how to signal with Morse Code. Similarly, a national evaluation of the 4-H program, based on a literature review of approximately 350 individual studies, concluded that gains in knowledge and skills was an "extensively documented consequence of participation" (Evaluation of Economic and Social Consequences of Cooperative Extension Programs, 1960:116).

In sum, it is reasonable to conclude that scouting and 4-H groups do teach important practical skills youth typically do not acquire in schools. It is the organization's claims to developing character or teaching values, as we will later discuss, that is much more problematic.

Practice in Leadership and Other Group Roles

Unlike traditional schools, the social structure of youth organizations provides a small group of youth with a large number of opportunities for practicing leadership and other active group roles. In all the youth groups we observed, the adolescents to a considerable extent planned and organized events and conducted formal meetings. One Girl Scout leader, for example, described how impressed parents were when the girls themselves organized a mother-daughter tea. "The girls would meet at home in a bedroom for hours planning it, planning the invitations, decorations, getting permission to use the building." As a 4-H leader described their community club meetings, "First there is a business meeting so officers can get the experience of leading an organization and a meeting (by parliamentary procedure), setting up committees, supervising the committees, planning for a year." Parents and youth saw developing leadership and teaching young people how to plan activities as major benefits of youth organizations and generally areas where the youth organization was more effective than the school (table 1).

In the youth group setting, young people frequently participated as well as members of interdependent groups. For example, patrols of Boy Scouts built fires and cooked food on camp-outs. The boys carefully monitored each other to insure cooperative effort. 4-H members put out a club newspaper and built a float for a July 4th celebration. Girl Scouts organized themselves into a clown troop and presented shows. Learning to work as a member of a group is not as salient in scouting and 4-H ideology as leadership, and most young people did not bring it up frequently (table 2). However, over a thrid of the parents we interviewed mentioned "learning to get along with peers" or "work within a group" as a particular benefit of youth group participation.

Scouting and 4-H emphasized somewhat different types of role learning (table 2). 4-H groups stressed learning how to speak in public through giving speeches and demonstrations. In the groups we observed, young people were reluctant to attempt such public roles. "I don't like to give demonstrations," one member said. "It is kind of scary. I get stage fright. It is fun. After awhile you get into it." Girl Scout members reported primarily learning how to plan and organize. Boy Scouts reported the most intense and varied role practice--learning how to lead a group, how to speak in public, how to work in a group, and how to teach others.

The Boy Scout structure provided an elaborate system of socialization for leadership roles. Scoutmasters saw the organization explicitly as preparing boys for public leadership in business, government, and community affairs. In describing governance of a Boy Scout troop (where the senior patrol leader supervises patrol leaders who, in turn, supervise their groups), adult leaders viewed Boy Scouts as providing management training. "It's like being in business," one leader emphasized. "We are preparing them to make the kinds of decisions an adult has to make and to learn how to manage people."

These leadership roles placed great demands on boys' skills, time, and emotional energy. For an adult to manage a two hour evening meeting for young adolescent boys, tired and cooped up from school, would be a difficult task. The senior patrol leader had to learn how to develop cooperation in the group, keep order without using physical force, get everyone involved, manage dissent, organize educational activities for boys at different skill levels, and lead without bossing and losing his friends. As one boy described this system: "The troop has two boy leaders who run the troop. The boys are supposed to do most of the work and that's what we try to do. You learn basic leadership skills. I'm the assistant leader in charge of all the patrol leaders. We make sure everything gets done. We keep things going. For example, camping. At Troop Leadership Council (a planning group composed of elected leaders) we decide on dates for camping, vote on what patrol brings what, call up scouts, and split costs among patrols. We make sure that the patrol leaders take care of everything."

While the scout organization provided some formal leadership training, the primary means of learning leadership roles in Boy Scouts was observing slightly older boys who held these positions, critically evaluating their performance, and then attempting the role. In the troops we observed, the younger boys were eager to assume the prestigious positions of senior patrol leader, assistant senior patrol leader, and patrol leader. The boys were highly aware of what was appropriate leadership behavior and freely criticized present incumbents ("You're supposed to be teaching us." "You're supposed to be here for the meetings").

Much more than the other youth organizations, the Boy Scout structure placed boys in positions where they assumed adult socializing roles. The older boys ran the meetings, maintained group discipline, taught scout skills, upheld scout ideology, evaluated performance of badge requirements, and for the lower ranks, made up the Board of Review. In the meetings we observed, these boys frequently assumed the perspective of the adults in the organization ("You need to know this, what if your plane went down?" "Stop fooling around").

Opportunities to Practice Community Responsibility

One of the benefits claimed for putting young people in the workplace is that it teaches responsibility. Yet, the kinds of responsibilities emphasized in the workplace--being on time and doing assignments--differ very little from the kinds already emphasized in school. Youth groups such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H groups, in contrast, stress a different type of responsibility--accepting voluntary community obligations. Parents and youth viewed "teaching the importance of helping the community" as one of the major benefits of youth organizations and an area where youth organizations were far more effective than schools (table 1).

The scouting and 4-H groups we observed functioned in part like adult service organizations and socialized youth for participation in similar adult groups. In discussing what they did in youth organizations, over half the youth mentioned community service activities such as picking up litter during the annual spring clean-up day, buying toys for children in the hospital, caroling at the old age home, and planting grass at the Fairgrounds (table 2). The groups, however, did not develop projects aimed at changing conventional community institutions.

While the Girl Scout and 4-H units we observed participated as groups in specific service activities, Boy Scouts also provided structured socialization into the ethic of individual social responsibility. Central scout competencies, such as first aid and emergency preparedness, were taught not only as skills but also as ways to become competent to meet social obligations. In troop meetings, older boys quizzed younger ones on what they would do if they came on a car accident, what they would do if a companion broke a leg on a ski trail, etc. "The stuff you learn in scouting," one boy said, "is intended for the good of the public, not just for your own good as in school." In addition, the emphasis on boy leadership, combined with the wide age range of the other boys, created social responsibilities for older boys within the troop structure. Older boys were expected to teach younger ones, show them how the scout system worked, and take care of them on camp-outs. "The senior patrol leaders," asserted one we interviewed, "look out for the little wimps to make sure they don't fall off a cliff or get hypothermia."

To advance to the higher scout ranks, boys as individuals had to identify, organize, and carry out a community service activity. As one scoutmaster explained what was required, for example, of Eagle Scouts: "Before a boy becomes an Eagle, he has to pick a project that will help the community. These are pretty big projects. For example, one Eagle contacted all Senior citizens and locked a Dial-a-Vial in the refrigerator telling what types of medicine they need. This has already saved lives."

The prospective Eagle Scout not only has to plan the work to be done, but also has to demonstrate community leadership ability by persuading others to help him complete the project. For example, one boy decided to repair all the windows in a church for his Eagle project. He had to solve the problem not only of how to fix the windows and pay for the materials but also how to get other scouts to work voluntarily at the church for several weekends. Scout leaders, parents, and boys saw the Eagle service project as the grand finale of scouting, a showpiece effort. In the troops we observed, the scoutmasters held up impressive Eagle projects for years afterwards as examples to younger Scouts.

Increased Family Involvement in Socialization

Increasing parents' involvement with their adolescent children was not a central goal of all three youth groups. While 4-H stressed family participation, Girl Scout program materials did not particularly discuss it. Boy Scouts viewed the organization as a means of helping boys become less dependent on their families, particularly getting growing males away from maternal coddling. Nonetheless, all three youth organizations draw parents into activities with their children and group structure created opportunities for parents to model community responsibility. One Girl Scout commented that scouting helped her "get along with other people, especially parents. Scouting helps by giving you something to do to ask your parents for help--brings you closer." Parents of 4-H members not only helped their children with their projects but also learned about the neighborhood peer group by attending community meetings.

Parents used the youth group as an educational tool which extended their own influence and accomplished their own educational agenda for their children. Of the 40 parents interviewed, 85 percent strongly encouraged their children to join the youth organization; the other 15 percent left the decision up to their children. The parents wanted the organization to accomplish a variety of particularistic educational goals--to expose their son, the "houseboy," to physical exercise and outdoor experience, to put a boy without a father or whose father worked out of town in close contact with adult males, to help their difficult daughter learn how to get along with other girls. Parents wanted experiences for their children which would "round them out" and reinforce core family values. As one Boy Scout mother explained, "In the world we live in there is a tendency of the kids to want to be entertained, to do fun things, not things that involve service. We want to teach kids that's not what life is all about."

At meetings, parents participated as group leaders and as teachers of special skills. At home, parents (and older siblings and other relatives) helped adolescents learn badge skills and complete projects. One mother, for example, detailed how she had worked for hours with her son on the first aid badge and helped him learn how to organize records to keep track of membership and dues. Parents often mentioned that they talked to their children about the meaning of concepts like loyalty when helping their children memorize the scout promise and laws. Later they referred to these ethics. "At 12 or 13," one parent pointed out, "they get very critical of other kids and teachers. We've been trying to use the scouting program. It's not consistent with scout law, courtesy and kindness, to be so critical." The youth group experience also created situations where children were troubled by the problems of working in a group and talked to their parents about such questions as how to handle someone who wouldn't do the work or what to do when you had an obligation to help someone you didn't like.

The leaders we interviewed sometimes complained that the parents would not help out enough and used them as "babysitters." Nonetheless, the parents said they participated in the organization by driving their children to events (57 percent), helping out with group activities (47 percent), assisting in teaching and related activities (39 percent), and holding leadership positions (31 percent).

When we asked parents in our interviews whether the youth organization had any effect on their family, slightly over half the parents interviewed said it had brought the family closer together. However, on our questionnaires, parents and youth did not rate "increasing parent/youth togetherness" as a major goal or central benefit of the youth organization (table 1). In short, parents saw increased family involvement as an effect of youth organizations but not an important goal or benefit. Our own observations suggest a reason for this pattern. The youth organizations attracted families in which parents were already highly involved in their children's activities. What the youth organization did was to intensify this involvement and provide a convenient framework for it. One father, for example, explained why he had gone on a scout expedition with his son: "The canoe trip gave me an avenue for a special relationship with Dave. He's the second child. . . . If it hadn't been scouting, I would have found something else to do."

In sum, the youth group experience created occasions for parental teaching and value socialization. For 90 percent of the youth interviewed, the youth organization extended educational contacts beyond the specific group leader.

In describing who helped them with badgework and troop projects, 57 percent of the youth we interviewed brought up their parents; 45 percent spoke of other adults in the community; 20 percent mentioned older peers in the organization; and 15 percent talked about older siblings and other relatives.

The troop itself provided a regularly scheduled opportunity for youth to interact in a group characterized by a relatively high ratio of adults to youth. The groups we studied had adult-youth ratios ranging from 1:4 or 1:5 for the Girl Scouts and some 4-H groups, to 1:7 or 1:8 for the Boy Scout troops. These ratios reflect not only the number of leaders relative to youth members but also the presence of additional adults who join the group for specialized functions, such as the teaching of a merit badge. The youth group structure, in short, created a network of educational and social relationships between adolescents and a range of people other than professional teachers.

DEVELOPMENTAL EFFECTS

This study has attempted to identify important types of learning experiences which occur in the youth group setting. However, we have not examined the educational effects of participation apart from the views of our respondents. The youth and parents we interviewed saw these organizations as successful in developing leadership and planning abilities, teaching youth the importance of helping the community, developing character and citizenship, and teaching new skills (table 1). Similar results have been obtained in other questionnaire and interview research, particularly the numerous studies of 4-H groups (cf., Steele and Everson, 1978; Issacs, 1978; Aylsworth, 1966).

There are obvious problems in using testimonials to substantiate claims that the youth organization causes such developmental changes. The specific effects of the youth group are difficult to isolate. In the youth we interviewed, we were impressed by the number of interlocking institutions pressing many of them toward, for example, social responsibility. The youth group appeared to be one of many, mutually reinforcing experiences, including family example, church membership, and school organizations.

It would be possible to design studies which attempt to measure the specific effects of youth group experience on value development or community leadership. One possibility, for example, might be successive interviews with members and non-members which examine the development of concepts such as "leadership" or "community service" in terms of cognitive complexity, specificity and detail. It would also be useful to test empirically organizations' claims that participation is related to civic leadership in adulthood.[7]

While such research would be more helpful than testimonials, these types of comparisons between members and non-members are open to the problem of selection effects. The kind of young person who joins scouting and 4-H groups differs from his or her peers. Boy Scouts, for example, tend to come from higher socioeconomic, more church oriented families who provide a variety of developmental experiences for their children (Boy Scouts and Their Scoutmasters, 1960). Several studies of 4-H members suggest that they tend to be more achievement oriented and task oriented than the general population and to come from families more involved with their church and other community organizations (Kreitlow, Pierce, and Middleton, 1961; Brown and Boyle, 1964; A Study of 4-H Youth and 4-H Programming, 1974).

The difficulties of separating such selection effects from the effects of participation in the youth group is well-illustrated by a massive study of the effects of Boy Scouts on character development.[8] The classic research of Hartshore, Hugh, and May, Studies in Deceit, found that Boy Scouts behaved no more honestly than other boys. In response to this critique, the Boy Scouts launched an elaborate two-year study to examine the effectiveness of scouting as a character-moulding force (reported in Levy, 1944). The research consisted of 917 case studies of representative scouts and non-scouts in 11 randomly chosen U.S. communities. A trained fieldworker interviewed each boy and obtained testimony from teachers, clergymen, and other adults. The study demonstrated clearly that Boy Scouts as a group were superior in character to non-scouts. However, the study concluded that it was just as possible that good character caused scout membership as the reverse. While more sophisticated research designs could reduce selection effects, they cannot be entirely eliminated.

A more useful approach to examining the potential benefits of these types of organizations may be descriptive rather than outcome-oriented. Exactly what skills does the organization teach and to what level of proficiency? To what extent does the organization develop educational relationships between young people and adults in the community? What specific values and ideas do these adults communicate? What opportunities do young people have to observe and practice leadership and community service roles? For the purpose of designing and comparing different types of non-formal education programs, asking specific questions of this type may be far more productive than asking general questions about the effects of the experience on self-described attitudes and values.

CONCLUSIONS

Youth organizations such as scouting and 4-H groups may be far more successful than the workplace in creating learning environments which supplement the cognitive learning of the school. When these groups function well, their ideology and social structure produce significant learning experiences rarely available in classrooms. These include opportunities to learn a range of practical skills, such as how to handle emergencies and how to deal with everyday physical and mechanical problems. As Coleman (1972) points out, acquiring these types of skills are an important part of learning how to function as an adult. The youth group also provides opportunities for young people to observe and practice group leadership, the organization of cooperative activity, and community responsibility.

Nonetheless, every youth group does not create effective learning experiences any more than every classroom creates effective cognitive learning. In our observations, we have been impressed with the variability among different youth groups. What goes on educationally appears to depend on such factors as the abilities of the particular leader, whether the leader views the organization's primary goal as recreation or education, and whether parents involve themselves in the group.

In addition, variations in social structure and organizational approach among three organizations we studied also produce different kinds of experiences for youth. While on a general level it is clear that youth organizations create learning environments whose features contrast with those of school, these groups are not all the same and they are not, in fact, designed to produce the same effects.

The organizations we studied, scouting and 4-H groups, attract only a small proportion of young people and most of these are early adolescents. Moreover, during the 1970's, Boy Scout and Girl Scout membership progressively declined.[9] 4-H participation did increase during this period, a growth reflecting in part the result of specially funded federal programs, such as urban 4-H (Evaluation of Economic and Social Consequences of 4-H Programs, 1980). La Belle (1981) points out that community-based youth group agencies generally experienced dramatic declines in membership during the 1970's, despite their efforts to develop more contemporary approaches to youth.

The basis for this decline in membership is not altogether clear. It may be related to general economic and social changes occurring in American society during this period. The increase in two worker families, for example, reduces the number of adults with time for volunteer work. More families now participate in outdoor recreation, which may reduce the appeal of camping. Competition from other types of after school activities for youth, particularly sports programs, has increased (La Belle, 1981). Indeed, the leaders and parents we interviewed emphasized that 4-H and scouting used to be virtually the only organized recreational programs for young adolescents. Now young people must choose between youth groups and far more prestigious sport activities, such as basketball, hockey, soccer, and skiing. The negative image of scouting and 4-H groups among older adolescents also reduces their appeal. Most of the older Boy Scouts we interviewed, for example, refused to wear their scout uniforms in school. One boy described how he hid his Scout Handbook in a plain brown bag when bringing it to school so that his music teacher could sign off a merit badge requirement. "Another kid walked in and I thought I'd die," he recounted. "Then I found out he was a scout too." Older adolescents also saw themselves simply as outgrowing scouting and 4-H and developing more interest in school based activities.

While this study suggests that well-functioning scouting and 4-H groups provide important educational experiences, other types of extra-curricular and sports activities more attractive to older youth may offer similar benefits. Critics of the school as a learning environment have not given sufficient attention to the kind of learning that occurs or could occur in the extracurricular aspects of school. Yet, these activities are a central focus of adolescent energies. In looking for educational settings which provide significant socializing experiences for youth, it is important to develop a better understanding of the effects of diverse kinds of out-of-school activities and ways they could be re-structured to increase potential benefits. It may be easier to use these adult-directed adolescent societies, rather than the workplace, to accomplish important educational ends.

NOTES

1. For example, Boy Scouts of America publishes The Official Boy Scout Handbook for scout members, The Troop Committee Guidebook for parents and other adult members, The Scoutmaster's Handbook for adult volunteer leaders, and a series of merit badge books, such as Citizenship in the Nation, Camping, and Emergency Preparedness. The Girl Scout approach is outlined in a series of guides and handbooks. Brownie and Junior Leader's Guide and From Dreams to Reality: Adventures in Careers are examples.

2. A more complete review of the literature on Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and 4-H groups as educational environments may be found in Shinkwin and Kleinfeld (1980). The most comprehensive available studies of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts were conducted by the University of Michigan's Survey Research Center in the late 1950's. The results of large national surveys of Boy Scouts, scout leaders, and adolescent boys who do and who do not participate in scouting are reported in two publications (A Study of Boys Becoming Adolescents, 1960; A Study of Boy Scouts and Their Scoutmasters, 1960). During this period the Survey Research Center also conducted national surveys of adolescent girls, Girl Scouts, and Girl Scout leaders (Douvan and Kaye, 1957, Program of the Girl Scouts of the USA, 1958, and Adults in Girl Scouting, 1958). While we have been unable to locate other studies of education in Girl Scouts, a recent national survey of Boy Scout participants is available (Foundations for Growth, 1980). However, this study focuses primarily on issues related to declining Boy Scout membership rather than educational processes. These research reports can be obtained from the national offices of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts.

3. Our figures derive from personal inquiries to the national office of each organization.

4. The 4-H program enrolls almost 5,000,000 youth in various activities. However, the community clubs offer the most powerful 4-H educational experience because its project activities occur over a long time period and it involves substantial participation by family members and other adults from the community (Evaluation of Economic and Social Consequences of Cooperative Extension Programs, 1980).

5. In response to our inquiries, the national office of the Boy Scouts of America reported 1,110,444 adult volunteers enrolled in all programs as of December 31, 1980. The national 4-H program reported 560,000 volunteer leaders in 1981. The national office of Girl Scouts reported 551,665 adult members as of July 31, 1981.

6. Since we found virtually no differences in the goals perceived by the Boy Scout, Girl Scout, and 4-H leaders, these responses have been consolidated.

7. We have only been able to locate one study examining the relationship between youth organization membership and adult behavior (Wu, 1968). This

research, a longitudinal study of 4-H members and non-members, found that 4-H members were significantly more likely to participate in adult education five years after high school. However, the sample of 4-H members is extremely small (n = 19) and the results are confounded by the greater tendency of 4-H members to have entered professional occupations.

8. This research and sequence of events is summarized in Levy (1944). We have been unable to obtain the original study (Fairchild, 1931).

9. According to the annual reports to Congress of Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, Girl Scout membership began to decline in 1970 while Boy Scout membership started to decline in 1973. In 1981, however, Girl Scouts reported in an Associated Press story that membership had risen 1.6 percent, the first increase in 12 years.

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CHAPTER 3

GETTING PREPARED: BOY SCOUTS AND ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

by

Judith Kleinfeld and Anne Shinkwin

One of the interesting aspects of Boy Scouts as an American educational institution is the extent to which educators ignore it. Since it began in 1910, scouts has been part of the childhood experience of almost 33 million American men. The Boy Scout Handbook has sold 29 million copies, a publishing record placing it in the ranks of the Gideon Bible and the World Almanac (Fussell, 1979). In the late 1950's, one out of every four 11 to 13 year old boys belonged to scouts (Survey Research Center, 1960). Membership in scouts (as in other youth organizations except sports) has declined (La Belle, 1981). Nonetheless, in 1980, one out of every five 11 to 13 year old boys still belonged to scouts, according to the national organization.

Those few academics who have discussed Boy Scouts dismiss its central claims--developing character and citizenship. Mechling (1978, 1980, 1981) sees Boy Scouts as an occasion for male gender display and elaborates the covert sexual meanings of camp-fires and such games as "poison pit." Hantover (1978) interprets scouts as an institution that arose in response to the needs of adult men at the turn of the century to validate their masculinity, threatened by such social changes as the increase in sedentary office work. Macleod (1973:145) sees scouts' educational program as nothing more than "a giant vise which allowed boys free use of their limbs, yet held their heads steady while adults poured in values."

The central view of scouts in the academic literature is that it is a class-bound institution serving exclusively middle-class youth, and that it isolates youth from adults and their activities (Kett, 1977; Gillis, 1981; Hollingshead, 1975). To the extent that scouts addresses social needs at all, it responds to the needs of adult men to validate their masculinity, find satisfying roles for themselves, and make helpful business contacts.

Scouts' claims to character development are dismissed as pretentious rhetoric without connection to an effective program of educational activities.

This study develops a quite different view. We see traditional values, not social class, as the central characteristics distinguishing families whose sons join scouting. Indeed, the families we studied expressed conscious intentions to use Boy Scouts as a means of reinforcing traditional American ideals that they thought the public schools neglected. Far from segregating youth from adults and their activities, we view scouts as creating more extensive relationships between boys and adults. Scouts essentially provided a setting for boys to rehearse adult organizational roles.

Scouts of course cannot fulfill its lofty goals. As with other social programs, its rhetoric functions to inspire and create consensus. Nonetheless, scouts orients young boys toward community service and civic leadership. It creates repeated occasions for boys to help out younger peers and work for the community. Aristotle saw just such repeated actions as character forming:

> Virtue, then, being of two kinds, intellectual and moral, intellectual virtue in the main owes both its birth and its growth to teaching. . . while moral virtue comes about as a result of habit, whence also its name *ethike* is one that is formed by a slight variation from the word *ethos* (habit).
>
> We become just by doing just acts, temperate by doing temperate acts, brave by doing brave acts. . . . It makes no small difference, then, whether we form habits of one kind or of another from our very youth; it makes a very great difference, or rather all the difference (Nicomachean Ethics, Book II: Ch.1; In McKeon, 1947).

This Aristotelian doctrine implies that the approach of the Boy Scouts ought not to be so summarily disregarded.

This study examines Boy Scouts as a setting for adolescent development. First, we describe the ways families use scouts to create for their sons what Cremin (1979) terms a "configuration of education"--a set of mutually reinforcing educational influences. We point out that scouting education occurs in the family, not only in the troop. The family selects and mediates the scouting experience--teaching badge skills, supporting scout ideology, and coaching their sons as the boys attempt to handle unfamiliar organizational roles. Second, we discuss the education that occurs in the troop itself. We examine what boys learn from scouts through an analysis of three key scouting experiences--camp-outs, troop meetings, and troop ceremonies. Third, we portray how boys respond to the scouting program, ranging from "professional scouts," who become part of scouts as a subculture to "fade-outs," who drift away from the troop after a few weeks.

METHODS

Our view of scouting is based on an intensive study of boys' day to day experience in two scout troops in a northwestern community. Both troops were recommended to us by executives of the local Boy Scout Council as good examples of well-functioning troops.

During 1980-1981, we observed each troop for seven months (a total observational period of fourteen months). We took detailed field notes on 75 different events--troop meetings, camp-outs, canoe races, flag ceremonies, Saturdays spent recycling papers, and holidays spent putting up American flags. After each event, we completed an analytic form which detailed skills taught, value messages transmitted, educational relationships, and role experiences youth had.

During the fieldwork, the two authors assumed complimentary roles. The first author, an educator, remained a detached observer, analytic toward the proceedings. The second author, an anthropologist, became a participant in the scout system, enrolling her eleven year old son in each troop during the time we observed it. As she became part of the scouting world, her role shifted to key informant, not only colleague. In addition, male research associates attended camp-outs, where a female presence would be atypical and intrusive. At troop meetings and other scout events, women were not unusual. In one troop, for example, the scoutmaster's wife and different mothers frequently watched the meeting from the back of the room.

In addition to using traditional fieldwork methods, we selected twenty "focal" boys as a basis for examining in more detail what was unique in the scouting experience. Did boys, for example, often occupy teaching or leadership roles in school or other settings? For heuristic reasons, we chose boys from two groups--long-term members who held leadership positions in the troop and boys new to the setting. Long-term members provided information on the different kinds of experiences available in scouting. New scouts helped us to identify effects of the setting which quickly became so commonplace that established members no longer noticed them.

We conducted semi-structured interviews with these twenty focal boys and their parents on such topics as what the boys had learned from scouting, relationships between parental and scout values, specific role experiences boys had in scouts and elsewhere, and social relationships formed through scouts.

An especially valuable source of data were diaries which parents of fifteen of our focal boys kept on their son's scouting activities. We asked parents to record comments their sons made about scouts and suggest to us the meaning of these comments. Parents differed in their ability to keep such on-going records. However, many diaries contained lively and detailed accounts of family discussions about scouting. These diaries (and the monthly discussions with each parent when we collected diary material) showed how parents shaped their sons' scouting experiences. This is a point we might have missed had we relied exclusively on interviews and troop observations.

In small-scale descriptive studies of this type, an unresolvable issue is the representativeness of the field situation. To what extent is boys' experience in the two troops we observed typical of boys' experience generally in scouting? We suspect that the two troops we studied represent common types of scouting experience but by no means represent the possible variability. The national scout program presses troops in a common direction. It prescribes a standard method of troop organization, details adult and boy roles, and establishes specific learning activities and standards for badges and rank advancement. However, local troops are expected to develop their own traditions and to adapt the national program to their own situation, for example, teaching survival techniques appropriate to the arctic or the desert.

In addition, local scout troops differ in how much they follow the official program. One of the troops we studied, for example, went by the scout book while the other adhered to the general outline but with less emphasis on such matters as rank advancement. Scoutmaster style and the degree to which parents participated in the troop are also key variables which influence how particular troops function.

In short, scout troops vary a good deal; the ones we studied probably represent the middle to upper end of troop functioning. The strength of small scale descriptive studies, however, is their ability to provide insight and perspective on the basis of rich, multi-dimensional data. We leave the issue of establishing the norm and the range of variation to other research.

THE TROOP CONTEXT

The troops we studied were located in a semi-rural community in the Northwest with a population of about 48,000. Superficially, the Boy Scout program in this community relates well to the local adult male culture. Hunting, fishing, and wilderness camping are major recreations and constant topics of conversation. The need for outdoor survival skills is underscored by winter temperatures that drop to forty degrees below zero, making a stalled car outside the city a major emergency. Small plane crashes occur once a week or more during the summer months. Every boy has heard stories of people trying to survive after a wilderness accident. Indeed, during troop meetings, the scoutmasters and other men traded stories about bear charges and forced plane landings.

In this community, scouts teaches outdoor skills which have obvious practical use. Yet, in this locale as in others, Boy Scouts no longer attracts large numbers of boys. During 1981, only 175 boys registered as scouts. Troops averaged eighteen members, and only about two-thirds of these were active scouts. Scoutmasters remember a different era, a period twenty or thirty years back when scouts was one of the few youth activities and individual troops had forty members or more. Extracurricular activities have since multiplied and have become open to younger and younger students. Scouts has lost out in the competition for youth loyalties. Organized sports--basketball, baseball, soccer, and hockey--command youth interest and bestow prestige. In its declining scout membership and emphasis on youth athletics, this northwestern community exemplifies national trends (La Belle, 1981).

The two troops we studied were both sponsored by churches (Methodist and Presbyterian) and met one evening a week in the church basement. Apart from providing a meeting place and an occasional site for service projects, the church had little to do with the troops. Indeed, only one or two families in each troop belonged to the sponsoring church.

One of the troops (which we call the "University troop") met near the main campus of the state university. Its scoutmaster, a relaxed and jovial man, was head of the university's research proposal office. He had become involved with scouting when his son entered the troop. He had remained as leader, although his son (now an Eagle Scout) was now in his twenties. The boys liked his joking style, although many of the jokes pointed out their deficiencies.

Most parents in the troop were busy professionals with high incomes; about half worked at the university. During 1980-81, the troop had thirteen active members, and 54 percent of these were 11 to 13 year old boys.

The other troop (which we call the "Downtown troop") was located near the central business area. Its scoutmaster was a maintenance man for the state Department of Parks. He was firm, tough, and aggressively masculine in both speech and demeanor. The boys respected him as an exceptionally skilled outdoorsman and explained to each other that his periodic angry outbursts at their incompetence shouldn't be taken too seriously. Like the University troop scoutmaster, he no longer had a son in scouting, although his son (also an Eagle Scout) came frequently to troop meetings and taught scout skills.

Boys in the Downtown troop came from a mix of working class and middle class families with low to moderate incomes. The troop sponsored a large number of fund-raising activities and prided itself on "paying its own way" to summer camp and jamborees. The troop had 22 active members, and 68 percent of these were 11 to 13 years old.

In their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, the scoutmasters and the boys in these troops fit a typical scouting profile (Survey Research Center, 1960). The scoutmasters, like scoutmasters nationally, were married, the fathers of two or three children, and had sons who were or had been Boy Scouts. The boys were white and predominantly middle-class, although a sizable minority came from

The goals, social organization, and activities of both troops followed the national scouting program. Both scoutmasters viewed the goals of scouting as teaching outdoor skills, developing leadership and character, and generally preparing boys for adult life. Both troops were organized into patrols (although these patrols were more organizational devices than functioning groups). Both senior patrol leaders ran the meetings with the scoutmasters observing from the sidelines. Both troops had a parent group (the Troop Committee), which supervised the program, helped raise money, and provided adults to sit on "Boards of Review" where scouts were evaluated for rank advancement.

In addition to the weekly meeting, each troop also went on camp-outs, conducted flag ceremonies for civic groups, and participated in council-wide events such as Clean-Up America Day, Junior Leadership Camp, and Troop and Merit Badge Summer Camp. In the Downtown troop, boys also spent many additional hours on fund-raising activities--collecting and bundling newspapers for recycling (an activity which won the Governor's Conservation Award) and selling contracts to local merchants to put up and take down the American flag on national holidays. The University troop did not do such fundraising; parents preferred to donate money rather than to get up at 5:00 a.m. on holidays to put up American flags.

For active scouts in these troops, scouting involved far more time than a two-hour weekly meeting and a two-week summer camp, the image of scouts in the academic literature (Hollingshead, 1975). Rather scouting activities involved active boys in a demanding, time-consuming round of activities. A boy who participated in all available troop activities averaged 29 hours a month on scouts in the University troop and 45 hours a month in the Downtown troop. (Boys in the Downtown troop spent more time on scouts, almost entirely because of the fund-raising activities.) In addition, boys spent time at home working on skill awards and merit badges. Most boys did not attend all troop activities; scouting was nonetheless a more central experience in their lives than the literature suggests.

THE FAMILY AND SCOUTING

When we made our first telephone call during the exploratory phase of the study to ask a mother if we could interview her about her sons' experience in scouting, we were taken aback by her response. She wanted to talk to us about how much pressure she should put on her three sons to become Eagle Scouts (a family tradition involving her husband, all his brothers, and a large set of male cousins). Her youngest son had not shown the drive necessary to complete the demanding requirements for Eagle, and she did not know whether she should insist.

The incident alerted us to the critical significance of the family in shaping boys' experience in scouting. In an important essay on the family as educator, Leichter (1979) points out that families not only educate their children through what goes on at home. Families "mediate" outside influences. Parents help to select the kinds of experiences their children have outside the family. They also interpret, criticize, reinforce, and add to what goes on in settings outside the home. To understand the influence of scouting, we realized, it was critical to understand how families supported and supplemented what went on in scouts.

When we asked why boys had joined scouting, both the parents and their sons described a casual process that gave little indication of the intensity of many families' support for scouting. Most of the boys said they had been in Cub Scouts and had just continued on. A few told us that their friends had recruited them, that older brothers were scouts, or that their fathers had been scouts. The boys were aware that their parents were "for it," "kind of encouraged it," and "thought they'd get a lot out of it." The boys viewed scouts as a "fun" activity, liked camping, and were totally uninterested in the "values part."

Parents reversed these priorities. As one father explained:

> I left scouts in the eleventh grade. I came back and entered as an adult. Then your perspective changes. I realized what scouting was and what it accomplishes between campfires and activities. It doesn't matter a bit if kids learn how to use an axe properly. They may not have to use it at all when they're an adult. It's the values that matter.

Among many of these scouting families, we found a high degree of religiosity and patriotism, intense emphasis on achievement and community responsibility, and strong feelings about good manners and other values now labeled as "traditional." Parents felt that most contemporary institutions--including public schools--no longer supported such values. Boy Scouts provided a setting which reinforced family views:

> Boy Scouts emphasized what I want my kids to learn. I was raised by the same values. I've got to teach my values to my kids. The schools aren't doing any of it. Good manners learned at home are reinforced at Boy Scouts. They're certainly not reinforced at school. Schools aren't doing any of it. I have to carry the whole ball of wax.

We asked parents specifically whether scouts emphasized the "same values as your family or whether there were some differences in what you as parents teach your son and what Boy Scouts teaches your son." Almost all parents (85 percent) stressed that "scouting has the same values as we have tried to give him." Indeed, many parents agreed adamantly before we could even finish asking this question. Their sons (95 percent) gave the same answer. "A lot of the same things the scoutmaster tells us, my parents say exactly the same thing," one scout sighed. "It's like they heard the same speech from someone."

Similarly, no parent we interviewed felt that Boy Scouts had changed their sons' values; nor did they want scouting to do so. Rather parents saw scouts as a context outside the home which elaborated and applied family values. It was a place where family values received support. "I'm glad he's in scouts because their basic morals are the same as mine," a mother explained. "This gives John reinforcement and let's him know it's not just 'Mom's way' but the ways of others."

Families also used scouts as a tool to carry out other educational agendas they had for their sons. Some families wanted the program to help their boys find friends and to teach them how to get along better with other boys. One mother wanted her son the "houseboy" to get some exercise. Several mothers raising boys alone wanted a male influence.

Most of the boys' fathers (80 percent) had been scouts themselves, and the experience had been important to them. Scout stories were family lore. Fathers recounted camping adventures to their sons with mothers occasionally embellishing the tales:

> My husband and I were fishing in the middle of the lake. The wind was blowing and we couldn't get back. Later we learned it was a tornado. My husband was in Boy Scouts and knows a lot about how to do things in the woods. He got us back and built a fire under the boat to get me warm. He really did protect me.

Advancing in rank required considerable independent work. Even to advance to second class scout required a boy to earn five skill awards, each of which listed a long set of competencies (e.g. show how to treat shock). Parents urged their sons to complete the requirements. "I've kept pressure on him to get Eagle," one father acknowledged. "No one remembers the guy who almost made it." When boys wanted to quit scouts, parents tried to talk them into staying. "Sometimes I have to hog-tie him," explained one mother. "Certain periods he doesn't think it's important and I have to emphasize it."

Typically, boys accepted their parents' emphasis on scouting and aimed toward Eagle. Where the boys balked, however, a contest between parent and boy ensued.

We observed this battle with two of our focal boys who were new to the troop. In one situation, the boy won and dropped scouting. In the other, the parents held firm and became more active in scouts than their son--chairing the Troop Committee, going on canoe trips, and teaching First Aid at troop meetings. The year became a series of skirmishes between them and their son. In the boy's view:

> I didn't join of my free will. My parents made me. My dad never got his Eagle. He wanted me to get it. I'm not getting much out of it, the oath and law part, the mental part. The thing I get out of it is skills. I go there to have fun.

Over the year, the boy became less vociferous in his complaints. The parents' diary recorded signs of interest in scouts--not wanting to miss meetings, expressions of pride in finishing a tough First Aid badge.

His parents reported with satisfaction that his summer would be devoted to scout camp, the national Jamboree, and a troop bike hike.

The major competitor for their sons' time was organized sports. Scouting parents criticized the "fanatical parents" who "push their sons into sports." They scoffed at these parents' claims that sports developed character. In their view, sports fostered a "win mentality" and "egotistical attitudes." One parent observed:

> When they get out of hockey, what have they learned--just to hit each other around. I haven't seen too many merits in the youth athletic program as compared to scouting. Most of the community leaders at one time were scouts. The scouting program has taught them responsibility in the community.

SCOUTING EDUCATION WITHIN THE FAMILY

One of the purposes of the scouting program is to remove young boys from their family (particularly from indulgent mothers) and place them under the influence of men. Camping is the key scouting experience partly because it physically isolates boys from their families. "On a camp-out they don't have their parents around to tie their shoes," the Downtown scoutmaster asserted. "They have to learn to take care of themselves."

A few scouting events, such as father-son canoe trips, were intended to strengthen fathers' bonds with their sons. On these occasions, however, fathers and sons were expected to relate to each other as joint members of an all-male company, not as a family unit.

Similarly, both scoutmasters emphasized that parents were not supposed to teach merit badges. Boys were supposed to call up adults in the community to teach them badge skills. In this way, boys could learn how to meet new adults, learn from experts who knew concrete details about the subject, and explore job possibilities. "It's important for boys to meet adult men in the community and work with people who really know their subjects," one scoutmaster argued. "None of this mother stuff!"

In actuality, much scouting education occurred in the family. Most young boys were reluctant to telephone strange adults; we observed only a few such relationships. Rather it was parents, especially those of the younger boys, who helped teach their sons badgework. One mother, for example, said she had studied the merit badge pamphlet on first aid and had then spent six hours or more going over what to do about heatstroke, frostbite, cramps, and similar problems with her son.

Scouts provided a convenient curriculum for families that wanted to take active educational roles. One of our focal boys reported that both his grandfather and grandmother had used his summer visit to work with him on his water skiing, nature, and swimming badges. "They made me do every requirement, even those that were out of date," he noted. "My grandparents are sticklers for the right way to do things."

Parents also discussed with their boys the value of these scout skills. One mother pointed out to her son that she was using Boy Scout first aid techniques in her university lectures. Fathers especially talked to their boys about the way scouts' rank advancement program taught "the vital skill of learning how to set a goal and achieve it." Scouts, in their view, resembled the adult world where it was critical to know "how to organize your efforts and channel your energies" toward specific goals.

Families not only taught scout skills but also reinforced the ideology of the scouting program. Commonly, parents helped their boys memorize the scout oath and law (a requirement for advancing to the Tenderfoot rank), and used the occasion to talk to their sons about the meaning of such abstract concepts as trustworthiness and loyalty and how these ideals were expressed in day to day conduct.

Parents also strengthened their sons' social identities as scouts. One boy, for example, complained that any time he forgot his hat someone at home reminded him to "be prepared." In another instance, a boy in the University troop lied to his father about where he had been before the scout meeting. "How can you sit there in your scout uniform and lie to me?" his father asked. He tried to get his son to repeat the scout law and told him that he was allowed to go to scouts because his parents believed in these values.

Scouting created new types of problems for early adolescent boys--what to do when meetings were boring and you wanted different activities, how to deal with a scout who wet his sleeping bag at night or who wouldn't eat anything but peanut butter sandwiches when you were his senior patrol leader. Boys sought their parents' assistance as well as the help of older boys and scoutmasters in figuring out how to interpret these situations and how to handle them. In the University troop, for example, the boy leadership structure collapsed during the middle of the year and boys arrived to meeting after meeting where no activities had been planned. Our parent diaries during the period contain discussions between parents and their sons on such subjects as how you change leadership while allowing the person in the role to save face, how you handle a situation where a subordinate is undermining you, and whether you should accept the position of head of a group when your elevation will intensify factionalism.

Scouting placed boys in new group roles where they had to deal with unfamiliar relationships and obligations. One mother described a discussion with her son:

> Ever since my son Jake has known Paul and Paul has been coming to the troop Jake has muttered about him. Yesterday he was really on the subject. He is verbal but not verbal enough to really make a whole lot of sense on this abstract issue which is--how to deal with a very nice but

> boring and rather stupid person who follows you around and that you don't really enjoy but feel sorry for. Well, I phrased it something like that and told him I'd known people like that and had never known what to do . . . . The point is that scouting has provided a context for this discussion. Jake feels some kind of responsibility to this kid as a member of his troop. We have a somewhat different opinion on this issue so we discuss it.

The scout setting also shaped parents' views of their sons. Scouts particularly provided occasions where boys could "show their fathers" that they were a good deal more competent than their fathers believed. One father pointed out that the boy he thought could do nothing but sit in front of a TV set was tough and resourceful when a canoe turned over and he and his son had to rescue other scouts. Another bragged how his son, the smallest boy on a 65-mile survival hike, came through "like a a champ--the other boys called him the 'little engine that could.'"

The scout program, in short, reinforced the roles of parents as educators of their early adolescent sons. The program provided families with a set of structured educational activities and the incentive of rank advancement. It created new occasions for parents to discuss moral conduct and interpersonal problems with their sons. Parents helped create the scouting experience their sons had. And the scout setting helped form parents' concepts of what their sons were.

SCOUTING EDUCATION IN THE TROOP SETTING

While camping in the woods is the popular image of scouting, the program actually placed boys in a series of varied educational settings. Each taught a particular set of skills, communicated somewhat different value messages, and placed boys in different roles and social relationships. In the troops we observed, these settings included camp-outs, troop meetings, patrol meetings, awards ceremonies, flag ceremonies before civic groups, trips around town to collect papers for recycling, meetings with businessmen to see contracts to put up flags on holidays, and special meetings to plan a Haunted House for a Cub Scout troop or organize and build an obstacle course for the annual scouting show for the community, the Scout-O-Rama.

Moreover, each of these settings varied on different occasions. Some troop meetings, for example, consisted mainly of boy-led teaching groups where boys assumed active, responsible roles. Other meetings consisted of adult-taught sessions where boys were as passive as in the classroom.

In this paper we draw attention to the range of activities, roles, and relationships which occur in well-functioning scout troops. However, we cannot detail all these educational situations. Rather we describe three major educational events that repeatedly occurred in both of the troops we studied. We draw upon our interviews and diaries, as well as our observations, to speculate on the messages that these events conveyed to the boys.

The Camp-Out: Learning to be Tough

Camping is the core experience of the scouting program. The camping context is viewed as ideal for teaching physical fitness (you backpack; you do not camp out of the back of a pick-up truck), self-reliance (your mother is not there to take care of you), teamwork (you cook in patrols), and being prepared (comfort depends on planning). The scoutmasters of both troops considered camping to be by far their most successful troop activity. "Camping is the big thing," one boy said. "I don't go in much for paperwork merit badges. I've been in the outdoors but in scouts you really learn how to enjoy it."

According to the Scoutmaster's Handbook, a minimum of ten days and nights of camping is expected each year. The troops we observed aimed higher--at least one camp-out or other outdoor activity each month. The scoutmasters prided themselves on the number of days and nights their troops camped. During our seven month observation period, the University troop spent seven days camping and the Downtown troop, six days. In addition, both troops participated in council-wide outdoors and camping events, such as the Klondike Derby; patrols had to use compass directions to find an imaginary city where they had fifteen minutes to figure out how to get a victim out of a gas-filled house and treat him for fracture and shock.

Camp-outs varied in focus. There were endurance hikes, survival experiences, practice in building outdoor shelters from natural materials, merit badge camps, and canoe trips. The following observation of a Fall Camporee (an annual event involving all troops in the Council) illustrates a common format:

The church parking lot late Friday afternoon was filled with excited boys and hovering mothers anxious about temperatures dropping below freezing. After a worried conversation with the scoutmaster, one mother left with her boy to get warmer gloves, missed the departure, and chased the group down the highway.

After a two-hour drive, the boys got their packs together and hiked into the campsite where they met the other troops. The scoutmaster directed the boys to find a flat area for their tents, clear the area of snow (about one foot deep), and pitch their tents. New boys observed the experienced campers who showed them how to place tent stakes, erect fly sheets, cover packs with plastic sacks to protect them from the falling snow, and enter a tent without getting snow inside (cleaning off your boots and the cuffs of your pants while kneeling just inside the tent). As the three patrols erected their tents, the scoutmaster moved from tent to tent supervising, directing, and cajoling. In addition, two fathers and the observer assisted the sixteen boys.

One incident Friday evening set a theme for the remainder of the weekend. One boy didn't bring a plastic bag to cover his pack. When the scoutmaster asked him where it was the boy said, "My mother forgot to put it in." The other boys hooted. All weekend, whenever a boy asked where something was, a scout would say in a high pitched voice, "My mother forgot to pack it."

As boys made camp, the scoutmaster yelled, cajoled, and ridiculed them like a tough veteran sergeant with a bunch of green recruits.

For example, two boys set up a line to hang their packs which ran across the path that had been made in the snow to get firewood.

"What are you guys doing?" shouted the scoutmaster.

"Making a pack rack," answered the boys.

"Well look at where you're making it," the scoutmaster yelled. "Right across the path. Now ain't that dumb. Put it off to the side between them there trees."

Many of the older scouts used the same ridiculing style in instructing less experienced boys. (These lessons, we suspect, were not soon forgotten.) New boys paid close attention and deferred to these scouts who were already skilled outdoorsmen.

Saturday morning the boys began to stir at about 7:00 a.m. The scoutmaster hollered from his tent that he wanted a fire built and coffee made for him. When the adults got up an hour later each patrol was attempting to start a fire (with only wet wood available). The scoutmaster took charge of fire building for the patrol nearest the adult tent. Boys watched intently as he stripped off the wet outer bark, selected the most seasoned twigs, and blew on them until they caught fire. The other patrols managed their fires and the boys ate Tang, Poptarts, and instant oatmeal.

After a morning assembly at the end of the lake, the scouts rotated through eight merit badge learning stations. At five of these stations, older boys taught pioneering skills, such as how to coil and splice rope, make knots and hitches, and build a raft. The older boys demonstrated the technique, and younger scouts practiced.

At two wildlife stations, adults taught wildlife habits and game management techniques and values. The boys learned to use bow saws to cut down small charred trees, which they then cut into fire sized logs to be used at the council fire later that evening. At the last station a scoutmaster taught rescue breathing techniques while the boys practiced on a dummy.

Most of the boys made serious efforts to learn, although a few fooled around. After two hours, the boys were too cold, wet, and hungry to learn anything. The patrols built up their fires and cooked lunch (soup, beans, and hot dogs). Afterwards the boys went fishing and returned in the afternoon to the badge stations.

Patrol talk during dinner revolved around the activities of the day and around shared events, pranks, and hardships during previous camp-outs. The boys told tales of cold, hunger, and endurance and tried to top each other. "I carried a pack of 40 pounds for eight miles." "Well, I carried a 30 pound pack up a mountain." The boys monitored each other for signs of weakness and dropping off. For example, one scout loudly announced, "Come on Ralph, go get some firewood. You just want to stay around the fire and keep warm. You're not the only one that's cold." The boys also pointedly discussed the toughness of accompanying adults--who slept in his truck, who brought a pillow instead of making one by rolling up his clothes.

The temperature dropped to 15 degrees that evening. At the scout campfire, everyone was too cold to take much interest in a cobbler contest. The troops made feeble attempts to present skits and songs.

Sunday morning the patrols again tried to start a fire. Many of the scouts stood around in socks or tennis shoes because their boots had frozen during the night. Since it was so cold, the climb to the top of a nearby mountain was cancelled, much to the scoutmaster's irritation. "I wanted to show these mini-wimps just how tough I am," he declared. After an awards ceremony, the scoutmaster called the boys together and demonstrated how to take down and fold a tent. He then announced that he was going to inspect the campsites. "You should leave it looking like we were never here." The boys carefully picked up bits of trash.

During the ride home, the boys talked about what a good time they had, their disappointment at the cancelled climb, and the various hardships. ("Gee, my socks really got wet" . . . . "My feet were really cold.")

What did the boys learn from the Fall Camporee? The experience taught a number of obvious outdoor competencies. In addition to the formal instruction at the merit badge stations, the scoutmaster and others demonstrated such skills as erecting, taking down and packing a tent, the proper techniques for shouldering a pack, and how to build and care for a fire in wet snow. By observing and talking to other scouts, the boys learned such techniques as how to dry wet gear, how to keep boots from freezing, and how to dress in layers to keep warm.

When we interviewed the boys and their parents and asked what the boys had learned from being a Boy Scout, most stressed just these types of outdoor skills. Having these skills made insecure young boys feel competent in the most frightening situations they could imagine--being stranded and alone after an airplane crash, the death of their father. "I've learned enough from scouting so I wouldn't go crazy if I lost my dad for awhile on a hunting trip," one boy put it.

Both parents and boys stressed that knowing survival skills increased boys' self-confidence. The younger scouts admitted that they were frightened about going on a winter camp-out and anxious about trying to split wood with an axe. In scouts, they did things they thought they could never do. One twelve year old was particularly direct:

> I used to be afraid a lot. Before I use to think that I can't do anything. At camping I used to think I'm no good and I don't know why I joined. Then after about half a year I beat out Charles at making a fire. The scoutmaster gave me one match and coached me a little. I made the fire with one match. I didn't believe it. After that I could almost all the time start a fire with one match.

More experienced scouts felt confident (according to their mothers, overconfident) in a variety of emergencies. In the boys' view, they could take care of themselves and knew how to help out others. Indeed, much of the boys' talk about scouting included heroic survival and rescue fantasies--rescuing a badly injured girl after an automobile crash, getting a fish hook out of a little brother's finger. As one scout bragged:

> If I am flying a private plane and something went wrong I could survive if I survived the crash. If I went out in the winter and the car broke down in the middle of nowhere I would know what to do.

> In New Mexico [former troop] I had to survive 36 hours in the desert with very little water. Now I could do this comfortably. If some dude fell in the water I could save him.

Parents worried (with justification) about the dangers of such experiences as winter camping in an environment where temperatures could suddenly drop to forty degrees below zero. "Mama doesn't want to let them go," said one scoutmaster. "Especially in the winter. They are going to get cold. The time may come when there is not going to be any choice and they are better off if they know what to do." Parents had confidence in scouts as an institution and permitted their boys to take risks in scouts which they wouldn't permit in other settings.

Beyond learning outdoor skills, what Boy Scout camping was all about was learning to be tough. The Fall Camporee contained repeated illustrations--the bragging and oneupmanship of the scoutmaster and the boys about difficulties faced and hardships overcome, the references to "wimps" and "Girl Scouts," the scorn for the father who brought a pillow to sleep on. For boys who would rather watch cartoons on Saturday morning, the Fall Camporee was a test of manhood. Can you go through this miserable experience without complaining and without needing your mommy?

Boy Scout camping was hardship training, and the experience of hardship was a shared experience. Everyone had to face the cold, the frozen boots, the scarcity of dry seasoned firewood. Everyone experienced the interdependence of getting the fire going, putting up a tent, and eating the burned food. The experience unified the boys into a troop.

Learning to be tough was what distinguished Boy Scout camping from the boys' other camping experiences. Contrary to the expectations of the scouting program, camping was not a new experience to most of the boys. All the boys' families camped (at least in a trailer). Almost every boy (89 percent), however, emphasized that family camping was different:

> It's harder to survive on a Boy Scout camp-out. You carry your own stuff and they expect you to carry a lot. Your parents think you can carry about half of what you can really carry.
>
> With the family it's a camper. Now tha I've been in scouts I don't call that camping.

Similarly, what was unique to scouting was not just learning outdoor skills but learning what you were made of. One of our focal boys, for example, said that he had learned skiing at home, at scouts, and in a community college course. At home, he skied for fun. In the college course, he learned skiing techniques. In scouts, he learned whether he could make it on an eight mile ski trip with a pack on his back.

The Boy Scout camp-out can be interpreted as a classic rite of passage into male adulthood. It separates boys from their mothers, places them into an exclusively male transitional environment, teaches skills and lore specific to males, and tests fortitude and endurance (Fiske, 1979). Scouting's masculinity themes are obvious and have been extensively discussed in the academic literature (Hantover, 1978; Mechling, 1981).

What is interesting is that the boys and mothers we interviewed denied or paid little attention to these themes. When we asked if scouting had any effect in teaching boys "how a man behaves," both boys' and mothers' responses were puzzled or ambivalent. Boys typically saw scouts as showing them how an "adult" behaves or showing them how different kinds of men behave. We have no satisfying explanation for why parents and boys were not more aware of scouting's traditional male sex role socialization. We raise the point to suggest the error of making glib assumptions about how people actually interpret experience.

Scout camping did clearly communicate the importance of being tough, uncomplaining, and competent in the outdoors. What is critical is not that scouts send such messages--so do Marlboro ads. The point is how scouts taught boys to display these qualities. A boy gained prestige by helping younger scouts erect their tents, teaching them how to start a fire in the snow, showing them how to keep their boots from freezing. One boy described how impressed he was when an older scout, seeing a fatigued younger one, said nothing, picked up the boy's pack, and placed it on his back with his own. In scouts, boys could display toughness in this way.

The Troop Meeting: Learning How to Take Charge

What surprised us when we first attended a scout meeting was that the person running it was a fifteen year old boy. The senior patrol leader conducted the meeting, organized teaching groups where experienced scouts taught scout skills, kept order, and ran the games. The scoutmaster watched from the back of the room, occasionally yelling at the boys to settle down or taking over when a lot of planning had to be done in a short time.

According to official scout pedagogy, learning how to run troop meetings teaches boys leadership skills. Both the University and Downtown scoutmasters saw developing community and business leaders as a fundamental goal of scouting. They frequently told the boys that the leaders of the community had once been Boy Scouts and the same was expected of them. One scoutmaster remarked with emotion at a Canadian jamboree:

> One of the things that's neat about this is when these boys grow up and they're leaders in this world they'll remember that there were people from this country who were boys just like they were.

Boys' personal experience in scouts seemed to confirm what adults told them--that scouts prepared a boy for leadership and high position. After he had spent two days selling flag contracts, one boy remarked to his friend at a troop meeting, "I met a lot of managers who were scouts like the manager of Woolworth's was an Eagle Scout and the manager of Zales was a scout and a couple of the doctors were scouts." Similarly, an Eagle Scout reminisced about a jamboree trip where Senator Stevens invited him and his friends for lunch in the U.S. Senate dining room:

> We were in there eating and Hubert Humphrey--former vice-president--comes up. He greeted Senator Stevens and asked about us boys and all. He said, "Are there any Life Scouts?" And there was one Life Scout. And he said that he was a Life Scout and to make sure you go ahead and get Eagle.

"Leadership" is the scout program's label for what boys learned through running the troop. More specifically, boy acquired basic organizational skills--how to conduct a formal meeting, how to develop an agenda, how to plan a year-long program of activities that maintains members' interest, how to conduct an election, how to appoint assistants and make sure they did their jobs, how to be a Master of Ceremonies at a formal occasion, such as a Court of Honor.

One mother emphasized that her son (troop scribe) was learning organizational skills at thirteen that she was now trying to learn in her thirties:

> When I was a child you just showed up [at youth group meetings] and had to be good and agreeable. [Tom] has responsibility. I hear him on the phone planning, getting organized, giving other kids pep talks, telling them what to wear and what to bring. That's something I'm having to learn now as an adult with the Association of University Women.

Boys who held formal leadership roles in the troop also had to learn to deal with the human relations problems involved in heading up a group. At every meeting, senior patrol leaders faced challenges to their authority from other boys and charges of bossiness and ineptitude. Scoutmasters publicly dressed them down when they didn't plan a program, wear their uniform or came late.

Senior patrol leaders learned how to handle public failure and humiliation. We observed a meeting, for example, where two prestigious scouts from Order of the Arrow (the scout honorary organization) came to the Downtown troop to conduct elections. The candidates for Order of the Arrow--the senior patrol leader and two other boys--stood tensely in front of the troop while the two older scouts solemly read a list of questions about their conduct. ("Who in this troop is a friend to all? Who in this troop is cheerful when there is a tiresome job?") The senior patrol leader, a twelve year old, went on with the meeting while the ballots were counted and continued on with the meeting after the older scouts announced (mistakenly) that the other two boys had won. On another occasion, we observed a senior patrol leader, sixteen years old, face a special meeting called to discuss removing him from office for not planning a program. Toughness training was not confined to camp-outs.

The primary way boys learned such organizational skills was observing how older boys handled their positions. "You're a little scout and you see all those bigger scouts being patrol leader," one boy said. "You kind of look up to them, do it the way they did." The scout program had a formal junior leadership training program. Scoutmasters also occasionally coached boys, for example, telling them they were trying to do too much of the job themselves. In the main, however, boys learned by watching and criticizing other boys and trying to out-do them when they got to be patrol leader or senior patrol leader. The boys we interviewed found it difficult to answer many of our abstract questions; when it came to leadership, however, they could compare in detail the leadership styles of different boys in the troop.

One especially articulate senior patrol leader took over an hour to explain to us his theory of leadership:

> Generally with Senior Patrolling, you have to be friends with everyone. You have to be friends with people to get them to do things. If a kid refuses to do things, I take him aside and tell him you have to hold up your end or the whole system falls apart . . . . Leadership is confidence. You have to be confident that you can do it. And you have to be positive about everything.

He told us as well about explicit strategies he used to deal with problems--what to do when the scoutmaster and assistant scoutmaster disagreed, how to deal with boys who started fights or wouldn't work on badges.

While boys ran the meetings in both troops, Downtown troop meetings were serious affairs while University troop meetings were raucous occasions. In both troops, boys were occupied with showing off and challenging each other for dominance. In the Downtown troop, these preoccupations supported the scout program. Boys competed for leadership roles, for example, and tried to top each other in knowledge of emergency skills. In the University troop, the undercover business of the peer culture continually threatened the official business of the scout culture:

> Boys clumped down the stairs to the basement of the Presbyterian Church, a child-care center by day and a scout meeting room on Monday nights. Two boys moved a jungle gym to the back of the room, next to piled up blocks and balls, tricycles, and Fischer-Price riding trucks. Another boy set out the American flag, a Boy Scouts of America flag hung with award ribbons, and a handmade troop flag. He placed each up front beneath a wall display of scout knots in red, white, and blue rope and a wall chart tracking each troop member's progress in the "Trail to Eagle," the scout advancement

program.

On the kitchen counter stood a stained spruce box (crafted by a scout for his Star rank community service project) crammed with once-alphabetized merit badge booklets. Next to this "merit badge library" was a display of books and magazines on snow-camping, fishing, exploring, and "one burner gourmet cooking."

The scoutmaster sat at a folding table at the back of the room, looking through a fishing tackle box in which he had organized scout awards and insignia--troop numeral patches and badges of office; merit badges with woven pictures of tents, cracked liberty bells, and white churches, and skill awards, gold belt loops with designs of the American flag, a skillet over a campfire, and a red cross.

Most of the eleven and twelve year olds running into the room wore the full scout uniform of olive drab pants, tan shirt, and red kerchief. The older boys carefully avoided such complete identification; they wore only the kerchief and scout shirt, sleeves rolled up to the elbows, or no uniform at all.

"Where's your uniform?" the scoutmaster called to one boy wearing a T-shirt and jeans.

"In the wash, I guess," the boy replied.

"That seems to be the standard answer," the scoutmaster said.

The boys did homework, showed off electronic games, practiced karate chops, tackled each other, and wrestled on the floor. An eleven year old walked over to the senior patrol leader (clad in scout shirt and a wide brimmed felt hat with pheasant feathers).

"Why weren't you on the camp-out? You're an SPL! You chicken?"

"I'm sometimes afraid. I'm never chicken," he retorted.

Another small boy raced over to the senior patrol leader saying hopefully, "I learned a whole bunch of jokes." The older boy looked down on him with favor and grabbed him around the neck as the twelve year old made loud gagging and choking sounds.

"Heh, guys, we gonna get this meeting going tonight or next week?" yelled the scoutmaster.

"Next week!" several voices came back.

"Come on, let's get going out there," he demanded. "Patrol leaders, SHUT UP--you're supposed to be an example."

The boys got into formation. The senior patrol leader stood at the front facing three ragged lines of boys--the Eagle and Lynx patrols and the Leadership Corps. He called a twelve year old to come forward and lead the group in the pledge of allegiance. The boy came to the front saluting with the wrong hand. The senior patrol leader showed him the right way and said "Dismissed." He called up two other boys to lead in the recitation of the scout law and oath. Opening rituals concluded, the senior patrol leader turned to the scoutmaster and asked if he had anything to say.

The scoutmaster announced that the troop would be conducting a Flag Ceremony at the opening of the University of Alaska/Hawaii basketball game. He needed five volunteers in full uniform.

"Do we get a free pineapple?" one boy joked feebly. Another boy began to pantomine flag carrying, first swaggering with the flag like a military officer, then switching into an imitation of a mentally retarded person trying to hold up a flag. Another boy joined in.

"These are windshield wipers," he yelled, pretending to sway a flag rhythmically from side to side. Two other boys joined the mime.

"Now speed up," one called, as all three imitated flags transformed into windshield wipers speeding out of control.

The scoutmaster looked resigned and disgusted. He continued. "Mr. L. [a university professor in his fifties whose son had been an Eagle from the troop] will be teaching the older scouts their Citizenship in the World badge at the back. I will be upstairs working with the Troop Committee. The rest of you will meet with the trainer and work on the Citizenship in the Community Skill Award."

"I already have it," protested one scout.

"Well, you be an assistant teacher then," suggested a father standing at the side.

The trainer, a muscled seventeen year old with a reputation as a high school wrestling champion, sat down on a bright square of rug. Three smaller boys sprawled beside him, one round-faced and plump and the others gawky and unformed. The trainer began reading the history of the American flag from the Scout Handbook. One boy yawned, looking around the room.

"Why should you respect your country's flag?" the trainer asked. No one replied. "Do you know what respect is?" he insisted. "It means you, your family, your neighbors, your community," the trainer explained. "If you don't respect the flag you don't respect your country."

The trainer quizzed the boys for thirty minutes--on what days should you fly the flag, who was Francis Scott Key, what are the rights and responsibilities of a citizen. He taught mostly from memory, occasionally looking up a point in the handbook. "You boys are gonna have to learn to talk," he said.

"You mean not so many oh's and ah's?" one boy inquired.

The trainer eyed the older boys at the back, considering what activity he could do to keep his group occupied until the session ended. He settled on a seated game of catch, ignoring the boys' protests that they did not want to sit down. The trainer caught balls thrown wildly at him, stretching out one hand. The younger boys tried desperately to catch the ball, collapsing, falling down, and rolling over when the ball was passed.

Towards 8:30 the boys clamored that it was game time. The senior patrol leader looked at his watch and organized the boys into teams for Steal the Bacon. The boys played with considerable scuffling, tackling, and argument about shifting rules.

Several fathers came down from the meeting and watched the game. One asked the professor who had taught Citizenship in the World how the boys did. "Two or three boys know what's happening. The rest . . . ." he grimaced. "I don't know what's happening in the schools. I asked where Spain was and they pointed to Australia. I asked what language they spoke in Mexico and they said the same as us."

The senior patrol leader called for the boys to circle up for the closing ceremony. "May the great scoutmaster of all scouts," they recited, "be with us until we meet again."

What scouts provided was a setting where virtually all boys, not just those who were popular, could practice formal leadership roles. In the University troop, for example, there were six official positions for thirteen active members.

Most of the boys we interviewed (70 percent) had never held an office outside scouts. The few who had said that they had a lot more responsibility in scouts. "In school," a senior patrol leader explained, "I was class president but that didn't matter much." In scouts, he continued, what happened depended on him. If he didn't plan good camp-outs or an interesting program, the troop would disintegrate. (This indeed happened to the University troop in mid-winter when the senior patrol leader did not plan meetings.) In school, the boys felt, their leadership roles--arranging a dance, organizing a showcase display--were peripheral. If a job was really important, a teacher would do it.

Troop meetings placed early adolescent boys in other active, directive roles. Experienced scouts routinely taught other boys the scout oath and law and the skills they needed for badges and awards. Boys also formally evaluated the qualifications of other boys for badges and rank advancement. When a scout ran up to the scoutmaster and asked to be signed off on a merit badge requirement, the scoutmaster routinely directed him to another troop member.

Boys alone formed "Boards of Review" to determine whether scouts would be advanced to the Tenderfood, Second Class, and First Class ranks. (Adults conducted Boards of Review for higher ranks.) The boards resembled oral examinations, where candidates were quizzed on their knowledge of scout skills and reviewed what they had done to meet the rank requirements. Only two of the boys we interviewed had a similar experience outside scouts--one in facing a job interview and the other, an ROTC scholarship interview.

We do not know whether scouts had any long-term effects on boys' interest in community leadership roles. Both boys (84 percent) and parents (88 percent), however, felt that scouts clearly stimulated boys' immediate interest in leadership. Boys talked at home about wanting to be patrol leaders or wanting to be scout leaders as adults. Several boys also told us they had used what they had learned in scouts in leadership situations elsewhere:

> Before I went into scouting I didn't know what to do. Now if I'm picked to lead at school I know what to do. I run it like a patrol. I pick an assistant and then we all pitch in. When it's done I congratulate each person, tell them they had done a good job.

Scouts drew early adolescent boys' attention to leadership as an ideal, particularly leadership in civic groups. It gave boys an opportunity to learn and rehearse organizational roles. Scouts also developed boys' image of themselves as people who knew how to lead a meeting, manage a group, or stage a public event.

The Eagle Ceremony: Learning Community Obligation

Becoming an Eagle Scout was the aspiration of virtually every boy we interviewed. "I want to get my Eagle," one declared. "Everbody who's my dad's friend says it's really neato to get up there and have a big ceremony."

Getting Eagle meant fulfilling your parents' ambitions, improving your chances to do well in the world, doing something tough, and, above all, getting respect. As one older scout put it:

> To me, Eagle is the ultimate. There's a lot of family pressure. I'd be the only one in either family to be Eagle. . . . They'll hire you if you're an Eagle. On of my friends got an Eagle. He went into the Air Force and now is Squadron Commander. It's a symbol. If you walk up to Joe Doe and he knows you're an Eagle, it brings you respect. It's widely publicized. An Eagle Scout, that's what I want to be thought of. I don't want to be thought of--'There goes Frank Jennings--the Boy Scout.' I want to be thought of--'There goes Frank Jennings--the Eagle Scout.'

By making Eagle a boy could prove to himself and the world that he was among the elect. He was one of the one percent of all scouts who made it to Eagle. To get Eagle, a boy had to complete a major community service project as well as fulfill badge and troop leadership requirements. Yet any boy could do so. As boys pointed out, Eagle was open to anyone willing to put in the effort. Getting Eagle did not require special natural ability, as did getting A's in school or making the skiing team.

Eagle brought a boy prestige and required a contribution to community welfare. Yet, the status a boy could gain from any sport far exceeded what he could gain from Eagle. The local newspaper printed a photograph of the "Youth Athlete of the Week" on the sports page along with a twelve paragraph article detailing the youngster's skills, achievements, and character. When a boy became an Eagle Scout, the newspaper printed a single paragraph without a photograph on the youth page.

Eagle Scout symbolized the particular character ideal that the scout program celebrated and attempted to develop. First, a boy had to master a range of practical competencies. A boy had to complete at least 21 merit badges, including a series of 11 required badges emphasizing outdoor skills, knowledge of civic affairs, and ability to assist others in emergencies.

Merit badges (much like competency-based school curriculums) specified skills a boy must have mastered or experiences he must have. For example, the "Emergency Preparedness" badge had nine specific requirements, such as:

> Show how you could safely save a person from the following:
>
> a) Touching a live electric wire
> b) A room with carbon monoxide or other fumes or smoke
> c) Clothes on fire
> d) Drowning using non-swimming rescues (including ice accidents) (Hillcourt, 1979:554)

In addition to badge work, an Eagle Scout needed at least sixteen months of troop leadership experience in various positions. Most Eagles Scouts had been patrol leader, assistant senior patrol leader, and senior patrol leader. Boys learned to hold office and then become group members again.

Planning and carrying out a community service project, however, was the most salient Eagle Scout requirement, the one boys thought about. Advancing to earlier scout ranks required only six hours of service--washing the windows of a church or building a box to hold the troop's merit badge pamphlets.

The Eagle service project, however, was different. First, it had to benefit the community as a whole, not just scouting. Second, the boy could not do it all himself. He had to get others (usually boys in the troop) to work as volunteers on his project. The Eagle project was intended to demonstrate community leadership ability, much like a doctoral dissertation is intended to demonstrate scholarly ability. It was viewed as a substantial piece of work and had to receive prior approval from the local Boy Scout Council.

In the troops we observed, Eagle projects were showpiece efforts. One boy spent three weekends putting putty on twenty-four church windows and replacing broken panes. Another prepared a road map for a volunteer fire department on which he served; many local addresses were not on the borough map. Scoutmasters took pride in the number of Eagles their troop had each year and the quality of their projects. The university troop scoutmaster was fond of recalling a past Eagle project--landscaping a busy intersection and putting in flower beds and a flag pole--which had taken over 200 hours of volunteer effort. Both boys and scoutmasters talked scornfully of "paper Eagles"--boys who had rushed through their badges and did not know their stuff or boys whose service projects amounted to clean-up jobs.

Beyond the formal requirements of badgework, leadership experience, and a service project, Eagle Scouts were expected to have internalized a sense of obligation to scouting and the community. These expectations were subtle but evident at the Boards of Review where adults evaluated prospective Eagle Scouts. In the Eagle reviews we observed, adults questioned boys closely on what the boys saw as their future responsibilities:

Mr. A.: Will becoming an Eagle change you?

Eagle Candidate: You progress to become an Eagle.

Mr. A.: Is there an obligation on you when you are an Eagle?

Eagle Candidate: There's an obligation to the community. Scouting makes you aware of the community. An Eagle is an advanced scout.

Mr. J.: Will you continue with scouting?

Eagle Candidate: No. I am doing theater. I'm in the National Guard. I'm a volunteer at the Fire Station.

Mrs. J.: Is Eagle the end of scouting?

Eagle Candidate: No, I just have other goals. Life is short!

The decision point in the Eagle Boards of Review--the moment of adult consensus--occurred when the boys' remarks demonstrated interest in the welfare of scouts or other community institutions.

Like a wedding or a baptism, the Eagle Ceremony itself was a formal occasion with engraved invitations, full scout uniform, suits and ties, and visiting relatives. The elaborate ceremony was intended to motivate younger scouts to work toward Eagle, and our later interviews showed it had this effect. For all involved, the occasion was a reaffirmation of traditional American values--civic responsibility, patriotism, religious belief, honor, leadership, even motherhood.

> The meeting room at the public library was filled with scouts in uniform, their parents, scoutmasters and former scoutmasters with their wives and children, family friends, and relatives who had come expressly for the occasion. The Master of Ceremonies (an Eagle

Scout from the troop now in his early twenties) introduced the proceedings with rhetorical flourishes, personal asides, and extravagant tributes to the scoutmasters and scouting.

The program began with a procession of boys bearing flags--the troop flag, a flag for each scout rank, the state flag, the American flag, and flags from each country where the new Eagle Scouts had attended Jamborees. The audience rose for the Pledge of Allegiance and the invocation, given by a local bishop.

The Master of Ceremonies spoke with feeling about the difficulty of becoming an Eagle and how he himself would not have made it without the help of three scoutmasters present. The two brothers becoming Eagle Scouts (a double ceremony) entered the room and proceeded to the stage, escorted by their scoutmasters and a guard of Eagle Scouts. Lights were dimmed as a boy recited the Scout Law, lighting a white candle for each pledge.

A family friend rose to give the "Eagle Charge." He talked about the boys as "great honorable people, great citizens, great scouts." He recognized the contributions of each scoutmaster who had brought these boys to Eagle. He spoke of his own experience in scouting and his brother's and the effects of scouting in instilling in them the ideal of honor. He gave the new Eagle Scouts the charge to "be a leader and a leader for good causes," closing with a discourse on the obligations of an Eagle to his country and community.

The scoutmaster presented the Eagle awards to the boys. He praised their two former scoutmasters who, he insisted, contributed more than he did to these boys. After receiving their awards, the new Eagles placed smaller Eagle pins on their mother's dress. The scoutmasters read letters of certification from the President of the United States and the heads of the local and national Boy Scout councils.

The Master of Ceremonies announced that a mother's poem was always read at Eagle ceremonies, and it always "got to him." Three mothers, each of whom had a son who was an Eagle Scout, marched side by side to the stage and recited in unison a poem about the growth of a boy toward Eagle. The poem ended with the lines:

> Yes, it's only a pin, just an Eagle Scout badge
> But the heart that's beneath it beats true.
> And will throb to the last for the things
> which are good.
> A lesson for me . . . and for you.

The ceremony concluded with a reception and a white cake decorated with Boy Scout symbols and the American flag. The new Eagle Scouts presented a slide show showing themselves, other boys and scoutmasters on past camp-outs, hikes, and Jamborees. "These are the things of scouting," they stressed, "you don't forget."

One new scout asked his mother on the way home to buy him a camera so he could take pictures of the things of scouting.

The Eagle Ceremony celebrated much more than the achievement of the individual boy. The occasion also celebrated the scoutmasters who had devoted time and care to other people's children. The fundamental theme of the event was social obligation--the obligations adult men had fulfilled to young boys and the obligations the boys would assume as adults to other boys and to the community.

We do not know to what extent scouting actually developed a sense of social responsibility among its members. We saw, however, many examples of feelings of obligation toward scouting among adults during the fourteen months we observed the troops. Two different college students, for example, wandered into University troop meetings and offered to help out with the troop; they explained they had been scouts and felt they owed scouting a lot. Many adults active in scouting--including the scoutmasters of both the University and Downtown troops--had no son of their own in the troop. Unlike Girl Scout and 4-H leaders, who usually have their own children in a group, over half of Boy Scout leaders do not; leading a troop expresses community obligations largely unrelated to family responsibilities (Survey Research Center, 1960).

We did not systematically ask our focal boys if they planned to be active in scouting as adults. Several voiced such a sense of obligation, however, when we asked them how long they planned to stay in the troop:

> After I get my Eagle I think I'll stay in. I want to play basketball one year but I hope to stay. People like [Eagle Scout helping the troop]--they help us get the Eagle and we owe it to the other guys to help them. It's not fair to the leaders just to get the Eagle and then go on.

We did ask our focal boys and their parents if scouting had any effect on the boys' interest in helping the community. While the majority of parents (56 percent) and boys (83 percent) said it had, the tone of these answers was usually ambivalent. A primary reason was that boys associated helping the community with picking up trash on Clean-Up Day (an annual event organized by the Boy Scout Council). Many boys disliked the activity, and some stayed away.

Scouts did involve boys in other types of service activities. These were not labeled "community service," however, and boys did not think about them as "service." Boys helped put on bike safety rodeos, taught scout skills to younger boys, and organized Cub Scout events. Fund-raising activities, such as recycling papers and putting up the American flag on holidays, also had benefits for the community.

Boys who participated in these service activities received substantial approval from their parents and other adults. Our notes contain many observations such as the following:

> Mark walked into the troop meeting in full uniform. His mother announced that he was proud of himself because he had sold six flag contracts that afternoon. A father commented, "I admire that. I'm not a good salesman." His mother added that he planned to sell ten more contracts tomorrow.
>
> Several boys spent a school holiday building a Haunted House for the Cub Scout Halloween party. The the surprise of their parents, the Haunted House actually materialized. Parents went through the Haunted House and spoke for days afterwards about the boys' ingenuity and the realism of the fake blood.
>
> One mother mentioned that such scouting activities provided new occasions for her to praise her son. "What can you say about a twelve year old boy," she pointed out, "except how well he does in school? He talks to his grandparents long distance about what he's done in scouts and they tell him he's great."

Scouts also increased boys' contacts with adults active in community work. Parents drew the boys' attention to the fact that the scoutmaster was using half his annual vacation to take them on a canoe trip or that the scoutmaster was getting up at 5:00 a.m. every holiday to put up flags. The University troop scoutmaster often mentioned at troop meetings that he was donating tents, a hunting knife, or other gear to the troop; he donated $3,600 annually to troop and council activities. Boys conducted flag ceremonies where they met men active in fraternal service organizations. Even events without explicit service objectives, such as the annual canoe race, exposed boys to the volunteer ethic. Scouts observed adults giving up their weekend to organize the race, provide radio communications, monitor safety, and prepare food. Informal conversations on these occasions celebrated service values. ("Tom took off work to come out. He's that kind of person.")

Scouts also created for early adolescent boys an explicit reference group supporting prosocial conduct as well as conventional good manners. The boys were aware of the behavior expected of a "scout." One patrol leader, for example, announced at a meeting that he had arranged a trip to the roller rink and outlined these expectations:

> We want to act as Boy Scouts. You should skate more than you play pinball. Even if we're not here in the church basement, we are still scouts so don't trip people.

The most obvious example of the way scouts functioned as a reference group was the treatment of two boys with mild handicaps in the troop setting. Several of our focal boys pointed out that these boys--naive and uncoordinated--were the butt of jokes in school. In the troop, games sometimes slowed when their turn came and scouts rarely commented when they fumbled the ball or forgot the rules.

While the behavior expected of a scout was clear, we observed many deviations. On one trip, for example, older boys threw ice balls at younger ones. On a ski trip, an assistant senior patrol leader and his friends left behind new scouts. The scout setting, however, affected how people interpreted this type of behavior. Typically, the incident was remarked upon.

In popular usage, the term "Boy Scout" is disparaging; it connotes naive idealism. In actuality, the character ideal Boy Scouts celebrates is much more complex.

What scouting attempts to develop is not a "Boy Scout" but an Eagle Scout. The Eagle Scout is a winner. He is, in the boys' own images, the one who wins the scholarship to West Point, the man who becomes commander of the squadron, the guy who is trusted with the keys to the cadillac when the senator comes to town. Being a winner, however, means not only getting ahead but also fulfilling community obligations. Scouts creates incentives for boys to carry out community projects, structures convenient opportunities, and rewards such conduct with the Eagle rank and intense social approval. "I want my boys to see all the good things people say about boys like that," one mother put it, bringing her two sons to the library for the Eagle Ceremony.

THE RESPONSES OF DIFFERENT BOYS TO SCOUTING

Boys active in scouting typically acquired the outdoor skills, self-confidence, formal leadership experience, and sense of obligation we have described. However, many scouts did not become active in scouting. Some tried out the program briefly and left. Others changed in their response to scouting as they matured, gradually withdrawing from the troop.

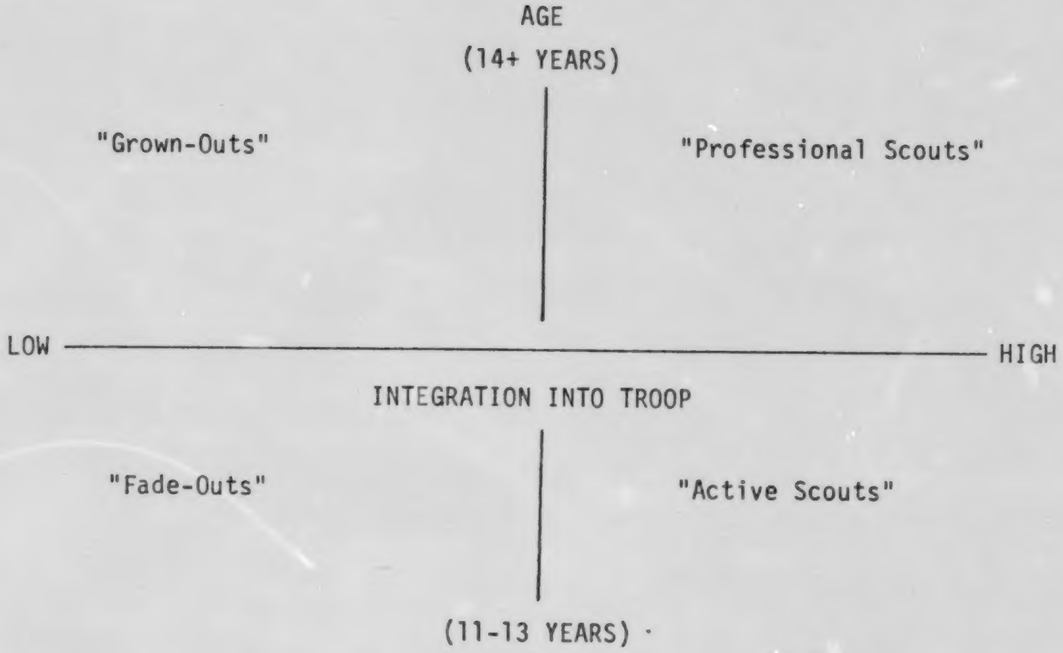
We suspect that family endorsement of scouting was the central variable distinguishing boys who joined troops from those who did not. However, family support was not sufficient to keep most boys involved in the troop. Two other variables explained level of involvement. One was the age of the boy; older boys typically lost interest in scouts. The other was the degree to which the boy became socially integrated into the troop and scout culture, whether he found friends and found the troop a congenial social group.

Combining these two variables suggests a typology of boys' response to scouting (see figure 1). These patterns describe fairly well the orientations of our focal boys to scouting and the responses of other scouts we observed.

These patterns, however, do not describe the attitudes toward scouting of boys who did not join troops at all. According to the scouts we interviewed, most boys in their schools saw scouts as "uncool" and would not consider identifying with it. Similarly, many parents scorned the scouting program, viewing it as rigid, militaristic, and

FIGURE 1

The Responses of Scout Members to Scouting


AGE
(14+ YEARS)
"Grown-Outs"
"Professional Scouts"
LOW
HIGH
INTEGRATION INTO TROOP
"Fade-Outs"
"Active Scouts"
(11-13 YEARS)

socializing boys in self-righteousness.

"Active Scouts"

For these young boys, scouts was a central interest in their lives. Typically, absorption into scouts was a gradual process. Jack, a twelve year old boy in our study, for example, at first felt isolated in the troop and talked about quitting. His family persuaded him to attend scout summer camp and decide afterwards. Camp was the turning point. Jack made friends with other boys, including the prestigious older boys in the troop. He also distinguished himself by getting the water skiing badge, one no other troop member managed to obtain. When he returned home, he got out his scout handbook, planned his advancement to Eagle, and informed his mother that he expected the family to help him. He insisted on participating in every meeting, camp-out, and leadership program regardless of family convenience.

During September, Jack took part in eleven scouting events and spent a total of eighty contact hours with scouts:

DATE	EVENT	HOURS
9/2	Troop meeting	2
9/7	Put up flags on Labor Day	2
9/8	Troop meeting	2
9/9	Pick up newspapers from scout boxes	2
9/12	Bundle newspapers for recycling	10
9/15	Troop meeting	2
9/19	Walked 26 mile marathon with another scout for skill award	8
9/20	Patrol meeting	2
9/22	Troop meeting	2
9/25-27	Fall Camporee	46
9/29	Family potluck	2

As he became more and more involved with scouts, he began to adopt the organizational vocabulary, rhetoric, and point of view. He started to talk about adults, for example, in terms of whether they were "responsible"--a concept his family had not heard him apply this way before.

After a few months, Jack began to be one of the experienced boys who taught new scouts their skill awards. He was appointed Scribe and elected to Order of the Arrow.

His parents and grandparents praised him for his scouting activities--advancing to first class, spending all day Saturday recycling papers. Casual contacts with adult men reinforced his views about the importance of scouting. A family friend who came to dinner, for example, left the other adults and spent two hours talking to Jack about scouting, going over the handbook, and practicing knots with him.

When we asked "active scouts" such as Jack what they had learned from scouting, they typically responded with a long list:

> First aid, building fires, setting up tents, cooking outdoors, responsibility by being a scribe, what to take camping, to be prepared, how to be a good citizen by not littering and helping out in community activities, conservation, learning to communicate, learning to call people, leadership, how to organize, and many other things.

"Fade Outs"

While the troops we observed had a core group of active scouts, other boys joined for a few weeks or months and then drifted on. Usually the scoutmaster and boys were not even certain that these boys had dropped out; they just faded away.

Our study was not designed to examine reasons for leaving scouts, a prime topic of research by Boy Scouts of America (1979) itself. The families we interviewed gave a variety of reasons for their sons' dropping out of scouts--such as not having friends in the troop, too much roughhousing, and too much driving.

We do not have data on a large enough group of these boys to examine what they learned from their brief exposure to scouting. However, we suspect that they learned little more than a few outdoor skills. The significant educational experiences available in scouting, such as holding leadership roles, occurred only after a boy had spent time in the troop.

"Grown Outs"

These boys were active scouts as early adolescents but outgrew scouting as they entered their teens. Building a fire in the snow no longer held challenge. Teaching another group of new boys the Scout Law, the square knot, and the community living skill award became wearisome. These boys were "bored with scouting." As they entered high school, they sought new activities--Thespians, the International Club, the school paper.

Parents and scoutmasters viewed this change as normal maturation, not an organizational problem. As one mother described it:

> We've seen how much scouts has done for David. It's given him a lot of confidence. He knows that there are certain goals you have to obtain and he can set a goal and proceed with it. He has learned to do things. If he's stranded out he can survive.
>
> But now he's ready to broaden his interests. He needs new horizons. He'll get Eagle but I don't see him as a "professional scout." I can see him dropping out in a year or so. Camp gets repetitive. There's not much excitement.

Some of these boys did remain active in the troop, primarily because they wanted to finish their Eagle requirements. However, they tended to drift in and out of troop activities, leaving, for example, when wrestling season began.

Although they themselves were outgrowing scouting, these boys were important in the troop as role models for younger boys. During troop meetings, the eleven and twelve year olds watched them, imitated them, and competed for their attention with jokes and horseplay. For a twelve year old, a relationship with a sixteen year old was rare and valuable. The older boys, for example, were sources of information about "things you should do and shouldn't do, like don't go into the bathroom during [high school] initiation days because they stick your head in the toliet."

According to the younger scouts, these boys were "cool and tough" but they were also "good scouts" who "know what they're doing outdoors" and "are there to help you if you need help." When we asked our focal boys if they had met any boys in scouts whom they admired, all mentioned one or more of these older boys.

"Professional Scouts"

For most boys, scouts was one organization to which they belonged. For a few older boys (and a large network of scoutmasters and Eagle Scouts), however, scouting was not just an organization. It was a subculture. Scouting had its own distinctive history and folklore revolving around Baden-Powell, the official founder, and his first camp for boys at Brownsea. Scouting had its own elaborate social organization and prestige system--the adult ranks in Order of the Arrow, the Silver Beaver award for service. Scouting had its own material culture--uniforms, patches, badges, scarves. At troop meetings, adults discussed with intensity the color, weave, and design of a patch. Some traded patches and had blankets covered with scout patches from all over the world.

For "professional scouts," scouting organized their leisure, dominated their family lives, and defined their social relationships. Among these professional scouts, it was not considered remarkable to have midnight telephone conversations lasting an hour or more about the new rural Boy Scout program. Nor was it remarkable to leave the hospital the day your daughter's heart stopped during surgery to attend an Eagle Ceremony. One Eagle Scout whose father was a scoutmaster explained that "everything revolved around scouting in the household. My dad put 80 percent of his spare time into scouting."

Only one of our focal boys appeared to be becoming a "professional scout" as he entered his late teens. By far the more common course was to withdraw from scouting. This boy, too, had become bored with the troop, although he still went to meetings and worked on his Eagle. Instead of leaving scouting, however, he became president of an Explorers Search and Rescue Post, which helped state troopers conduct emergency searches. Explorers (a scouting organization for 14 to 21 year olds of both sexes) was essentially an advanced, specialized scout troop. Its members learned sophisticated emergency skills, helped out Boy Scout troops by building shelters for the Fall Camporee, and undertook outdoors expeditions. "Explorers," this boy asserted, "is for boys who are bored with scouts."

Of all the parents, boys, and scouting adults we interviewed, only these professional scouts believed that the formal ideology of scouting--the Scout Oath and Law--had any influence on boys' behavior. One Eagle Scout explained:

> When you first get in scouts [the oath and law], it's something you say. Then the scout leaders are living it, and it sort of gets into your head. Then it just comes in your mind. I'll be in a situation and it'll cross my mind, "Help other people out."

For members of this subculture, scouting was a religion and a philosophy.

CONCLUSION

What do boys get out of scouting? Does this institution, as its detractors claim, discriminate aginst lower-class youth, isolate young people from adult society, and pretend to develop character through busywork service projects, grand oaths, and camping in the woods? Or does Boy Scouts offer opportunities for boys to learn emergency survival and other useful skills, practice adult organizational roles, and learn how to participate in community affairs?

Our study of boys' day to day experiences in two scout troops supports the second interpretation. Scouts is a voluntary educational institution. Its membership is primarily middle class because it affirms and celebrates traditional middle class values--achievement, patriotism, religiosity, advancement, conventional morality, and community leadership and responsibility. It attracts those families who hold such values and who intentionally use scouts as a means of passing them on to their children. The critical characteristic that defines scouting families is ideology, not social class. To view scouts as an institution discriminating against lower-class youth (the dominant view in the academic literature) misses the point. What scouts offers families is the opportunity to place their sons in a social situation where the activities, the adults, and the peer group support the family's view of what counts.

Scouts also stimulates parents to act as educators of their own adolescent boys. Much research on scouting overlooks the amount of scouting education that goes on in the family. Scouts is not a matter of a two hour weekly meeting and a two week summer camp. Scouts creates occasions for families to teach new skills, discuss principles of conduct, and coach boys on how to handle new problems such as working out an agenda or figuring out what your obligations are when a boy in your patrol is taunted on the school bus.

The clearest educational effect of scouting is teaching boys outdoors and emergency skills. A national survey of 1435 randomly sampled eleven to thirteen year old boys found that Boy Scouts, significantly more than their age-mates, saw themselves as competent to give artificial respiration, care for a bad cut, use Morse Code, report a fire, take care of themselves if lost in the woods, and so on (Survey Research Center, 1960).

Our study suggests these competencies have symbolic, as well as practical meaning to early adolescent boys. Knowing these skills makes young boys feel powerful, confident, tough, and in control. In their view, they will be able to survive if a plane crash leaves them alone in the wilderness. They see themselves as knowing how to be a hero. They imagine themselves embarked on rescue missions, dismissed early from school to save the community during a nuclear attack. No longer must they depend entirely on others; others can depend on them.

Scouts also sparks boys' interest in leadership and gives them experience in formal organizational roles. Boys learn how to run a meeting, set an agenda, appoint assistants and check up on them, and deal with challenges to their authority. Moreover, most boys in the troop eventually have this experience; leadership roles are not limited to particularly popular or athletic boys. Through such practical training boys develop confidence in their ability to hold leadership roles. They begin to see themselves as people who know how to make things happen, as people who can run an organization, be a master of ceremonies, and stage a community event.

What of the central claims of scouting, however, that it develops that elusive quality called character? Our observations of what actually goes on in scout troops suggests that the popular image of scouting--as an organization which inculcates a rigid sense of values--is misleading. Here it is crucial to distinguish between scouts' effects on values and its effects on conduct. Apart from such occasions as the recitation of the scout oath and law--which were rituals--little explicit reference to moral precepts occurred at meetings, camp-outs, or other scout events. Parents did not want scouts to teach their sons values; they wanted scouts to reinforce family values. They wanted to surround their sons with a group of adults and other boys who upheld the values the families upheld. Neither parents nor their sons thought scouts had influenced boys' values. Nor did they want it to do so.

What scouts did influence was moral conduct. Scouts created repeated occasions where boys helped out younger peers or worked on projects for the community. These actions were not entirely altruistic. They were rewarded with badges and rank advancement, credits toward summer camp, and group prestige.

Did boys learn from these experiences only to help out others when they would get a reward? Our study suggests they learned something quite different--that helping out others is rewarding. In the Aristotelian view, it is the ability to take pleasure in virtuous acts that defines the virtuous man.

What boys seemed to be learning from the scouting experience was complex--that helping out others is satisfying but also that it is important and expected. Boys developed a concept that fulfilling community obligations, not only personal advancement, defines the respected man. They learned the mechanics of organizing community projects, the details of how to involve other people in carrying them out. These are lessons that few other contemporary institutions are attempting to teach.

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CHAPTER 4

TWO BOY SCOUT TROOPS: INDUCTION INTO PEER VERSUS ADULT CULTURE

by

Anne Shinkwin and Judith Kleinfeld

INTRODUCTION

The previous paper explores the relationship between Boy Scouts as an educational setting and family programming of their boy's education in values and skills and the kinds of learning experiences that boys are exposed to as members of Boy Scouts.

This paper describes and analyzes two Boy Scout troops examining variations in the troops and their implications for the educational experience of youth members. It illustrates how the manipulation of various features of the official Boy Scout approach creates settings which convey different educational messages to youth members.

Boy Scout troops are not static social systems although they do develop traditions that may have considerable persistence giving a particular focus to a troop. The data reported here refer to the two troops only during the time of study; it is possible that the configurations characteristic of them now may be quite different in the future. While the data can properly be considered only as representative of these two troops, they illustrate the potential of Boy Scouts as an educational institution. They also provide a model of an educational system outside the school which can be a guide to further research on voluntary youth organizations in American society.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH AND METHODS

Since the previous paper summarizes research on Boy Scout troops and describes in detail our methodology, we will not repeat this information. For the purposes of this paper, the observational data are most critical, providing the empirical basis for many of our interpretations.

ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACH

Boy Scout organizational literature provides an inside view of the organization's goals and educational methods. It is essential to understand scouting pedagogy in order to interpret what goes on in troops and to examine to what extent troops deviate from the official program.

Boy Scouts' objectives emphasize character building and citizenship. A Boy Scout pledges "to help other people at all times, to keep myself physically strong, mentally awake, and morally straight." Boy Scouts, reflecting cultural expectations of adult males in American society, stresses that boys should learn to be brave and self-reliant; they should be achievers, leaders, and responsible citizens; they should be active participants in the public sphere of society.

The basic approach, established by 1916, reflects these goals through its key features: (1) camping is seen as a core experience; (2) individual achievement is encouraged and recognized through an "advancement system"; and (3) leadership is a skill that is learned through participating in the Boy Scout troop social organization.

Camping is emphasized as a way to promote self-reliance. The experience exposes boys to an environment away from home where they can learn and test outdoor skills, increasing their technical competencies and contributing to their sense of self-reliance. Boys also assist less experienced scouts in dealing with how to survive in the wilderness.

Individual achievement is stressed as a value itself. Recognition of a boy's achievement is viewed as a mechanism that functions to increase his sense of increasing competence in adult skills. A boy participates in an advancement system which is based on completion of skill awards, merit badges, and progress awards. This system, "the trail to Eagle," is a series of progress awards each of which promotes the boy to a new rank. It is conceived "as a ladder with boy-sized intervals between the ranks." Success is based on the demonstration of technical skills, such as first aid, and the demonstration of scouting values, leadership, active participation in the organization, dedication to helping others, and service to one's community. Review for progress to the higher ranks occurs in the "Board of Review," an oral examination given by youth and adults for the lower ranks and by adults who are not part of the weekly troop meeting structure for higher ranks.

Boy leadership is emphasized through Boy Scout principles of social organization which are viewed by the organization as a major educational method. The key principle is the patrol organization (small groups within the larger troop) with each patrol electing a leader who manages the patrol. The troop also provides other leadership roles for youth: a senior patrol leader (elected by the troop as the troop leader), an assistant senior patrol leader, scribe, quartermaster, etc. The patrol leaders, senior patrol leader and his assistant form the "Troop Leaders' Council" which helps to plan troop activities. Adult leadership in the troop is provided by the scoutmaster and an assistant scoutmaster who function to monitor meetings, provide assistance and leadership and coaching from the sidelines. A "Troop Committee" of adults works with the scoutmaster as an adult support group.

In sum, Boy Scouts theoretically should place a boy in a learning environment unlike that encountered elsewhere. He is a member of an all-male association, expected to assume planning and leadership roles.

He is surrounded by boys of various ages (11-17), some of whom operate in formal mentor roles. He is placed in contact with adult males who function as role models and who emphasize advancemnt, leadership, and community service. The environment should present learning opportunities not ordinarily found in schools, environments which are narrowly age-graded and emphasize individual academic achievement.

TWO TROOPS: A CONTRAST

General Introduction

Both troops have a long (20+ years) history in an Alaskan community of about 48,000 people and are well known within the local scouting council. One troop, which we call "University troop," meets in the University area and draws most (67 percent) of its members from the immediate neighborhood. The scoutmaster, as well as about half the parents, are associated with the University. All youth members attend public school.

The other, which we call "Downtown troop," is located just adjacent to the main business area in town. Members are drawn from a large radius encompassing downtown as well as outlying areas. There is a broad range of occupational affiliation of the parents who, in general, are more representative of local business interests than those in University troop. The scoutmaster is a state employee. One-fourth of the active boys attend private religious schools.

The Downtown troop has almost twice as many active boys, and twice as many younger boys in absolute numbers (table 1). There is no significant difference between the two troops, however, in the proportionate ages or ranks of members.

Scoutmasters, boys and parents in both troops believe their troop is the best troop in town, although the scoutmaster and some of the parents and youth in the University troop cited what they believed were short-term problems in youth leadership during the time of our observations. Adult and youth members of both troops pointed to large numbers of awards from competitive events, high involvement in outdoor activities such as hikes or campouts, and a history of producing Eagle Scouts as justification for pride in their troop.

TABLE 1

TROOP CHARACTERISTICS: YOUTH MEMBERS

Features	University Troop	Downtown Troop
Number of Active Members	13	22
Average Number in Attendance[1]	12	17
(Range)	(7-15)	(8-18)
Age of Active Members: 11-13	7 (54%)	15 (68%)
14-17	6 (46%)	7 (31%)
Rank: Below First Class	6 (46%)	10 (45%)
First Class and Above	7 (54%)	12 (56%)

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[1] Over a seven-month period

Troop Programs

An active member in either troop spends considerable leisure-time in Boy Scout activities. Official events average 29 hours per month in the University troop and 46 in the Downtown troop (table 2). Both troops participate equally in council-wide events and troop meetings and campouts are given equivalent proportionate emphasis within each troop.

Troop meetings are held once a week for 1½ hours in the University troop and 2 hours in the Downtown troop. Camping and outdoor events are highly valued by adult and youth members in both troops. Each has a "traditional" campout, in addition to other troop camping events. In the University troop, a fall father-son campout is held at a nearby river during the migration of whitefish which are speared at night with light provided by Coleman lanterns or flashlights, a local activity engaged in by many outdoorsmen. An emphasis on "fun" outdoor events that can be shared by father and son characterizes adult and youth comments about this troop.

While the Downtown troop views outdoor events as fun, "fun" in this context is often translated as "endurance." This troop traditionally camps out in mid-winter (Christmas vacation) at a nearby lake, using a cabin belonging to another youth organization. Skiing and ice fishing are activities and the trip is a challenge since the temperature is often -30°F or colder. From this scoutmaster's point of view, the colder the better. "Remember, it's wintertime and we're going no matter what the temperature is."

Troop meetings and campouts are primary activities in the University troop (table 2). The Downtown troop spends similar amounts of time in

TABLE 2

USE OF TIME - 7 MONTH PERIOD

TROOP EVENTS	UNIVERSITY TROOP[1]				DOWNTOWN TROOP[2]			
	No.	No. of Days	Total Hours	(% of Total Hours)	No.	No. of Days	Total Hours	(% of Total Hours)
Troop Meeting	28	28	42	(40)	26	26	52	(23)
Troop Campout	3	7	49	(47)	2	6	50	(23)
Troop Leaders' Council	2	2	3	(3)	3	3	5	(2)
Flag Ceremony	5	5	5	(5)	1	1	1	(.4)
Money-Making Events					14	14	86	(39)
Other	1	1	6	(16)	6	6	28	(13)
TOTAL	39	43	105	(101)	52	56	222	(100.4)
Council-Wide Events[3]	6	12	99		6	12	99	
TOTAL	45	55	204		58	68	321	
Average Time Per Month			29				45	

[1] October-April.

[2] Late April to mid-July, September-December.

[3] These events represent a minimum of those available to scouts, representing those which were regularly attended by most scout troops in the area such as the camporees, Clean Up America Day, Scouterama, Junior Leadership Camp, and a Klondike Derby.

these activities but fund-raising in this troop brings boys and adults together for almost as much time as both meetings and campouts put together. For example, the Downtown troop recycles newspapers to sell for insulation. This occurs on a Saturday, once a month, for at least ten hours. Papers are collected, sorted, bundled, and delivered to the buyer. The labor is impressive -- on one Saturday, nearly 80,000 pounds of paper was processed. Boys also put up and take down the American flag on major holidays at local businesses, an activity that requires them to be on hand at 6:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. on these days. Boys are taught how to negotiate these contracts as well as execute their responsibility for the requisite labor.

Money obtained from fund-raising in the Downtown troop is used to pay for summer camp and summer trips. Each boy has an account based on his labor. In this troop, "Momma doesn't pay," as the scoutmaster frequently notes. Parents are expected to contribute their time, however, to support youth fund-raising. The scoutmaster and other adults who regularly volunteer their time at these events explicitly recognize that, in the long run, given the cost of gas alone, the economics of these ventures can be questioned. However, they point out the value of teaching boys to "pay their own way" and boys in this troop brag about their role in supporting their own activities. These activities are also used to teach boys small business skills, such as how to negotiate a troop contract with a local business.

Troop adults also say these activities are fun and observations of "paper days" indicate that, while boys and adults work hard, the atmosphere is clearly that of a "work party," sometimes with the emphasis on "party."

This troop is known as "the travelling troop," according to its members and those of other local troops, a reputation related directly to their fundraising activities that support summer travel.

In contrast, parents in the University Troop Committee contribute funds for activities outside troop meetings, viewing fund-raising as a waste of their time. Contributing money, not time, is a feature of adult involvement in this troop. The scoutmaster, while referring to potential educational benefits of youth fund-raising, is discouraged by past experiences in this troop where youth/adult response to these events was very low. In addition, these events are viewed as "all work and no fun."

In sum, analysis of use of time by the two troops reveals some similarities, such as an impressive available average monthly time involvement, equal participation in council-wide events, equal time allotted to meetings and campouts within each troop's time frame. A major contrast is the prominence of fund-raising events in the Downtown troop and their complete absence in the University troop. University troop adults are reluctant to contribute the time needed to support this kind of youth activity. They emphasize fun as the major desirable feature of youth activities. Downtown troop adults, on the other hand, embrace a "work for what you get" ethic and support that value by contributing time.

Although the study was not designed to look at the source of these contrasting adult attitudes, analysis of our data on the backgrounds or occupational status of the adults does not reveal any consistent patterns between adults in the two troops that could explain the differing ideologies.

Rather, it appears that each troop embraces a relatively stable approach which functions to attract families which hold values that support the troop ideology.

Troop Organization

Meetings: a Description. Both troops meet in a church basement in a large room with an adjacent kitchen area. In both buildings, other rooms are available when multiple simultaneous activities are taking place. Boys stand or sit on the floor in the University troop in patrol formations (three groups) for troop discussions or break into smaller, often loosely structured groups. The senior patrol leader or discussion leader stands or sits on the floor in front of these groups. In contrast, boys set up chairs in the Downtown troop in three groups, one for each patrol, facing a long table flanked by flags, at which the boy leaders (senior patrol leader, his assistant, scribe) sit. Discussion groups also use chairs.

University troop meetings, in general, are raucous affairs, characterized by a high noise level, a great deal of physical activity including pushing, shoving, wrestling, and a high level of verbal confrontation usually in the form of joking. Older boys often disengage from troop activities, leaving the meeting briefly or entering the "off limits" kitchen area. Competitive games, in which the rules rapidly change, are played at most (77 percent) of observed meetings.

In striking contrast, Downtown troop meetings often have the appearance of a board meeting in a large corporation. Physical movement is controlled; boys give serious attention to the subjects under discussion, volunteering ideas and time. Joking occurs but is limited and the noise level is more comparable to that occuring in a classroom, although highly spirited exchanges occasionally punctuate serious discussions. Rules rarely change in this troop's games, and games are played less frequently (38 percent of the observed meetings).

Meetings: Troop Structure and Its Functioning. In spite of the easily observed differences in "meeting behavior," the formal social structure of each troop, in terms of the organizational principles which set up a constellation of social positions and associated roles is minimally the same and follows official Boy Scout principles of social organization. Each has a structure made up of patrols with their respective leaders, a senior patrol leader and his assistant, and other youth roles. Each has a scoutmaster and at least one assistant scoutmaster. The kinds of duties assigned to youth in particular roles, i.e., the role definitions, are similar in both troops. For example, the senior patrol leader is expected to plan and run the meetings and patrol leaders are expected to organize their membership. Boys with various skill awards and merit badges lead small groups of boys in discussions of badge requirements. Each scoutmaster occupies a coaching role.

The differences in the two troops derive from (1) the degree of elaboration of the structure, in the sense of the number of basic positions that are used in the formal troop structure, (2) the way youth and adult occupants of the formal positions actually execute their roles, and (3) the operation of an informal system of adult roles in the Downtown troop that has no counterpart in the University troop.

Youth Roles. More formal roles are regularly assigned to boys in the Downtown troop. For example, a scribe in this troop collects dues and keeps notes on the meeting. The responsibility of keeping accurate and adequate notes, e.g., lists of people for various outings or the needed equipment, notes on the outcomes of rapid verbal exchanges during discussions, was a challenge to one sixth grader who visibly sweated in his efforts to keep up. This role was not assigned to anyone in the University troop because the scoutmaster views this youth activity as burdensome (not fun).

The assistant senior patrol leader also plays an active role at meetings, complementry to the senior patrol leader, in contrast with the corresponding position in the University troop, where this boy functioned primarily in the absence of the senior patrol leader. Boys in the Downtown troop who did not occupy main leadership positions often functioned as leaders/teachers in boy-led learning groups. These groups were usually small and a large number of them would be formed at the same time during a meeting with any boy who had the particular award leading the group. In the University troop, an older boy functioned as the "Trainor" and he and/or the senior patrol leader or assistant senior patrol leader (and occasionally a patrol leader) led these groups which were much larger than those in the other troop. In sum, boy leadership responsibility is more diffuse in the Downtown troop compared with the University troop where it is centralized, relying on two or three key positions.

The participation of the local boy leaders in each troop varied in that there were two meetings of the University troop at which neither the senior patrol leader nor his assistant attended and there were at least four meetings that were essentially unplanned, even though leaders were present. The Downtown troop never lacked a boy leader and no unplanned meetings were observed. In fact, boy leaders in this troop come armed with notes and schedules they have prepared with the assistance of the scoutmaster.

The selection of youth leaders and the duration of their tenure in the troop also differed, resulting in more boys occupying leadership positions in the Downtown troop than in the University troop over a comparable period of time. In the University troop, the scoutmaster selected the Senior Patrol Leader on the basis of age (minimum age: 14) and rank (first class and above) in contrast with the Downtown troop where the boys elected the occupant of this position. In this troop, the scoutmaster imposed a rank only (first class or above) prerequisite. During our observations, this troop had three senior patrol leaders, one of whom was 12 and the University troop had one leader.

Adult Roles. While official Boy Scout ideology emphasizes the significance of boy planning and leadership, supported by adult coaching, the scoutmaster(s) is clearly the key role in the system in his relationships with the boys and with other adults. The scoutmasters in the University and Downtown troops are both extremely active in local scouting, donating large amounts of time and energy to their troops and other scouting activities. Both became involved with their troops initially as parents of a member but stayed after their own boys had become Eagle Scouts. Both served in various official capacities in the troop prior to becoming the scoutmaster. Each has had a long (5+ years) involvement with his troop. Based on interview data with parents and youth members, both are viewed very positively and boys look up to these men and value their relationship with them.

In interviews, both scoutmasters indicated that they follow and support official scouting philosophy that troops should be boy-led with the scoutmaster occupying a coaching role. Both want boys to have fun as scouts and view scouts as an important experience to prepare boys for future roles. Both see outdoor events as the key scouting experience, reflecting official ideology. Meetings are places to expose boys to technical skills they will practice here and in other settings. Both emphasize learning how to take care of oneself outdoors, especially under severe weather conditions, reflecting the local culture in a community where many families regularly camp in summer, hunting and fishing, and where some hunt in the winter. Both men and their families are long-time campers. They enjoy the out-of-doors and want to share this experience with boys.

Observational data on troop meetings, however, indicates striking differences in scoutmaster style. The University troop scoutmaster projects a benevolent image to the boys, jokes a great deal and disciplines primarily through joking rather than direct confrontation, although occasionally he takes direct action. The Downtown troop scoutmaster, while joking occasionally with the boys, more often takes a serious, direct approach in meetings, controlling through crisp, sharply given orders or verbal slaps. For example, a typical response from these scoutmasters to disorder during the beginning of a meeting is illustrated by the following quotes.

> University Troop: "Hey, guys, are we gonna get this meeting going tonight or next week?"
>
> Downtown Troop: "Shut your mouth unless you have something to say."

A typical response in the University troop would be "next week," and in the Downtown troop would be absolute silence.

The Downtown troop scoutmaster is a "no-nonsense" man who imposes high standards on boys. He views boys as potentially capable participants in events and communicates this message in various ways. He expects them to "be prepared" and to behave and imposes sanctions if they don't. The senior patrol leaders are cautioned publicly that if they don't perform, they are "finished" in that role. For example, one evening the scoutmaster expressed disgust with what he viewed as a lack of organization on the part of the senior patrol leader and publicly dressed him down, noting in part, "You got in that position one night. You can get out of it a lot faster than you got in." In this troop there are rules which do not change and everyone is expected to follow them. "There's rules and you're gonna live by them." There is a right way and a wrong way and the scoutmaster (and other adults) presents the right way.

In contrast, the University troop scoutmaster insists that boys make and enforce the rules. "You guys set the rules." He feels that boys benefit from mistakes. Hence, rather than directly intervene when the senior patrol leader consistently came to meetings unprepared, he provided encouragement to him and also encouraged other older boys to intervene through calling a special meeting of the troop leadership council. In his view, the observation of poor boy leadership as well as good boy leadership can be a lesson.

In both troops, adults in addition to the scoutmaster occupy the sidelines. However, a significant difference between the two troops is the average amount of adult involvement in meetings, which is twice as great for the Downtown troop (table 3). In addition, adult participation is a regular feature of Downtown troop meetings. The lowest number of adults at any of their meetings was three, whereas only one-fifth of University troop meetings had three or more adults present.

In the University troop, the few parents (male) who are present for short periods of time occasionally talk with boys. However, they spend most of their time attending the parent troop committee meeting, which meets in another room in the building.

In contrast, the Downtown troop has a core of eight adults (males and females) who regularly participate in troop activities. Two are former scoutmasters who have been with the troop for ten years. Others are parents of present or former members and one is a young adult who was a former member. Meetings are often conducted by the boys to the background hum of spirited conversations of these adults who interject comments to the group discussions. A great deal of informal learning takes place as the boys eavesdrop or openly listen to the conversations of the adults. These adults know the boys well and strike up individual conversations with them, discussing not only their scouting activities but school and other extracurricular events important in the life of the boy. They assist the boys in keeping their records straight, and encourage their participation in scouting activities. The involvement of these adults not only contributes to the smooth functioning of the troop, but communicates to the boys that scouting is important. Why else would all these adults come to the meetings?

TABLE 3

TROOP CHARACTERISTICS: ADULT PARTICIPATION

Features	University Troop	Downtown Troop
Average Ratio of Adults to Youth	2:10	4:10
Range of Adults Present at Meetings	1-4[1]	3-11[2]

[1] 26 meetings

[2] 23 meetings

In addition, many of these adults are dedicated to Boy Scouts and meetings are often characterized by exchanges or long discussions between themselves or between them and the boys about various aspects of the organization. For example, discussions about the old uniform versus the new uniform, what constitutes "full uniform," the trading of "pocket patches," the correct way to wear the neckerchief, regulations regarding the Order of the Arrow (an honorary Boy Scout organization to which many boys aspire), discussions about differences in leadership badges, etc. are common, presenting and reinforcing the importance of scout culture. To the uninitiated or the new initiate, it is necessary to learn a new language (concepts) to participate fully in this troop. The excitement and interest exhibited by adult discussants during these exchanges encourages boys and anthropologists alike to learn the system.

In summary, while both troops follow the basic social structure described in the Boy Scout literature, the University troop's structure can be viewed as a restricted version of the Downtown troop's approach where more formal roles are assigned to youth and adults and more active participation in these roles occurs. In addition, the formal social structure in the Downtown troop is complemented by a stable system of informal adult roles, occupied by active participants.

Meetings: Activities. The same kinds of activities occurred in both troops but with different emphases and different organization of teaching and leading roles. Common activities include planning, boy-led or adult-led learning groups, Boards of Review, and Courts of Honor.

In the University troop, announcements about equipment needs or skills that will be tested on the campout are made by the scoutmaster.

The amount of time spent planning in any one meeting is small due to the low level of attention from older boys in the troop, whose behavior distracts the younger boys from the subject. Often, older boys engage in a series of jokes that amuse the group but inhibit any serious planning. Any serious question in this troop could trigger such an exchange. An example from our notes follows.

> Scoutmaster: What should we do for scouterama?
> Boy 1: Have a cheerleading contest.
> Boy 2: Have a wood cutting contest.
> Scoutmaster: If I can bring my wood.
> Boy 1: Let's have a wet T-shirt contest.
> Boy 2: Sure, boy scouts in wet T-shirts.
> Scoutmaster: What is a wet T-shirt contest?
> Boy 1: You get a foxy chick, put her in a T-shirt, wet her down. (Lots of laughter.)
> Boy 3: I second the suggestion.
> Boy 4: The motion is on the floor, it has been seconded. (Discussion goes on with mocking of parliamentary procedure.)
> The subject of scouterama is dropped.

In contrast, preparation for such events in the Downtown troop was directed by the senior patrol leader rather than the scoutmaster and this troop spends a large amount of time planning events, sometimes devoting an entire meeting to organization. Serious and prolonged organizational discussions characterize these meetings. A considerable amount of information about the right kinds of equipment for the expected weather such as appropriate boots, mittens, water containers, sleeping bags, etc., is transmitted by the senior patrol leader and by other boys who have been on similar outings. Adults constantly monitor the proceedings, adding details or demanding group attention to the topic, if necessary. The virtue of having the right equipment and following the right procedures are constantly extolled and reinforced.

In summary, planning in the University troop is not a key feature of the meetings and is usually led by the scoutmaster, in contrast with the Downtown troop where planning is boy-led and occupies a large percentage of time at every meeting.

In both troops, boy-led learning groups were a feature of the meetings. Boy teaching, however, was more prominent in the University troop where this type of learning group occurred at 57 percent of the meetings in contrast to 35 percent of the Downtown meetings, where troop planning occupied proportionately much more meeting time. These boy-led learning groups focussed on skill award training in such topics as knots and lashing, communications, first aid, camping, hiking, community living. Boy teachers in both troops approach their role in a serious fashion using a question-answer format and running over the required knowledge for the award. They all emphasize the importance of really understanding the material, often putting the information in a language format more easily understood than that presented in the handbook. Boys who taught these groups also were responsible for testing the learners and certifying their competency. These groups were often of very short duration in the University troop, dissolving due to lack of interest on the part of the learners.

The following excerpts from our field notes are typical of a University troop boy-led learning group.

> (1) The senior patrol leader (SPL) is leading a group on community living skills. SPL: What is government? Scout replies: It is someone who takes land away. (The group gets loud; is eating food; the scoutmaster comes over and tells them to put the food away.) Several scouts offer definitions of government. The group talks about definitions of government, voluntary versus private organizations and community problems (pollution and unemployment). SPL asks what is a community organization? Scouts respond: Scouts, Lions, school board. (Boys are doing push ups; they are told to pay attention.)

(2) The SPL is leading a group working on a camping badge.
SPL: What camping items should you take with you in the summer?
Boy 1: One shoe.
SPL: Why one shoe?
Boy 1: I'm an amputee.
Boy 2: I'd take a bra.
Boy 1: A girdle (pause), Stay Free Maxi Pads.
Boy 3: Rely.
Boy 4: Make-up.
SPL: Is this a Girl Scout troop or a Boy Scout troop?
Boy 3: None of the above.
SPL: What would you take on a summer campout?
Boy 3: A long sleeve and short sleeve shirt.
SPL: What is the difference between a rucksack and knapsack?
Boy 3: Different names.
Boy 5: One is made of rucks.
(Other jokes on this theme; finalized by SPL: one is made of knaps, one or rucks.)
(Jokes continue; SPL yells: I'm trying to teach you something!)
(Dead silence for a few seconds.)
Boy 3: It's hard for (boy 2) to learn.
Boy 2: I plead the fifth.
Boy 3: I plead the sixth.

Boy-led learning groups in the Downtown troop are serious sessions and distractions are not tolerated by the boy leader or the learners, who verbally abuse transgressors. Boy teachers are organized as the following short excerpt from a teaching session for the Communication Skill award, led by an 8th grade boy, illustrates.

Boy teacher: Make an emergency phone call; there is an emergency situation at home. What would you do?
Boys respond seriously: Dial 911.
Boy teacher: You must remember: WHO, WHERE, WHAT.
Boy teacher repeats: What are the three things you give on the phone?
Boys respond.

In both troops adult-led teaching groups occurred with about the same emphasis (taking up most of the 29 percent of the meetings in the University troop and 27 percent of the Downtown meetings). Adults taught first aid and citizenship, winter camping, outdoor survival, and bear protection. Boy response in both troops to adult-led teaching groups was good although the behavior of boys in the University troop, while much more controlled then usual, mimiced that of general meeting behavior displayed during planning time and in the youth-led learning groups.

Boards of Review are oral examinations to determine if a boy is ready to progress in rank. According to scouting regulations, boys test boys for the first three ranks with testing for the highest three ranks done by adults. The review is "a check of both the technical skills and the Scout's attitude and practice of the ideals of Scouting" (Scoutmasters Handbook, 1972:185).

Ten boards in the University troop and eight in the Downtown troop were observed. In both troops, boys are cautioned not to harrass the candidate but a certain amount of hazing occurs. This feature is particularly well developed in the University troop, as the following excerpt of a boyconducted review from our field notes illustrates.

> Examiner 1: What hike did you do?
> Candidate: From _____'s house to mine.
> Examiner 2: How long did it take?
> Candidate: Forty months and forty days; took baby steps.
> Examiner 2: Can you prove you did it?
> Examiner 1 moves on to another topic: what did you do for first aid?
> Examiner 3: How many people did you save? There is a minimum requirement you save two people's lives.
> Examiner 1: We are not kidding, we are not joking, we are serious.
> Examiner 3: Dead serious.
> Examiner 1: Did you do first aid? What are the pressure points for bleeding?
> Examiner 3: Tie a tourniquet on your head.
> Examiner 2: Do you know ANY pressure points?
> Candidate points to four places on his body.
> Examiner 2: You flunked, we only want two places; do your points, point at them.
> Examiner 1: Give four minor...
> (More questioning on first aid.)
> Examiner 2: Have you been reverent?
> Candidate: What's that?
> Examiner 2: Do you just say it because you have to or do you want to? You are supposed to live by the scout law. You don't just say it. It's in the book.

Candidate: It's not in there.
Examiner 2: Don't lie to me. It's not in there just to memorize.

The features of this short quote that were common to all the youth-led reviews in this troop are the practices of the examiners to ask questions but not give the candidate time to answer; to raise a serious topic, such as first aid, and then joke about it; to intersperse a joking approach with a serious approach creating confusion on the part of the candidate about what kind of answer (funny or serious) is appropriate.

Although it is not required by the official Boy Scout program, the Downtown troop requires that an adult be present at all reviews. Minor harrassment rarely occurs during the review. Rather, hazing is ritualized at the conclusion when the boys announce their decision, nearly always initially telling the candidate he has failed and then laughingly telling him he has passed. This also occurs in the University troop. Considerably more serious testing by youth occurs in the Downtown troop with an exchange of technical information between boy reviewers and the candidate. The following excerpt from the Downtown troop provides a contrast with the other troop in these features. In this review the adult closely observed the proceedings but made few comments. At the end, the boys failed the candidate on first aid.

Examiner 1: Show scout spirit.
Candidate: No response.
Examiner 2: Tell me how you show scout spirit.
Candidate: Helping scouts, working on newspapers.
Examiner 2: Is it things only for scouts?
Candidate: No.
Examiner 1: Give it to him, geez.
Examiner 1: If you are lost in the wilderness, what would you do?
Candidate: Get a compass and map.
Examiner 1: What if you fall out of a plane?
Candidate: Stay in the same place; find a place where planes can see you and make a distress signal.

Examiner 1: What would you REALLY do? [Comments to Examiner 3] Go bananas.
Examiner 1: Really, the thing would be -- don't panic.
Examiner 1: With a compass, how do you get real north from magnetic north?
Candidate: Answers correctly.
Examiner 1: What is first aid?
Candidate: First aid before professional help.
Examiner 1: What do you do if a person has a heart attack?
Candidate: Call for help.
Examiners argue about advisability of doing CPR.
Examiner 1: What are the dangers in moving an injured person?
Candidate: If a fractured bone, could bust.
Examiner 2: When do you move a person?
Candidate: If he is in the road.
Examiners: NO
Examiner 1: What if there is intense heat (hinting at danger of fire).
Candidate: Cool him off.
Examiners: Oh, no.
Examiner 2: There are FLAMES.
Examiner 3: This is the only time you move a person.

In summary, boys in both troops test other boys on technical skills and scouting virtues through the institution of the Board of Review. Contrasts are apparent in troop approaches with adult presence required in the Downtown troop and in the styles of boy examiners who have a tradition of joking and hazing in the University troop challenging the verbal skills of the candidate as well as his knowledge, compared with a more serious testing exercise in the Downtown troop.

Courts of Honor are held twice during the school year. We observed two courts held by both troops. While the general features are the same, i.e., a meeting with ritualized ceremonies for parents and boys at which the boys receive merit badges and progress awards, announcements are made, and refreshments are served, the organization of the courts differed. In the University troop, the senior patrol leader led the meeting and gave out the awards, followed by announcements by the scoutmaster. At the court preceding Christmas, the scoutmaster gave each boy a warm hat with the scout badge on the front.

In the Downtown troop, parents from the Troop Committee, rather than a boy leader, gave the awards. The senior patrol leader and other boys participate in the meeting by conducting ceremonies and giving talks about troop events, describing for the parents activities since the last court. This is followed by announcements from the scoutmaster and possibly from other adults associated with the troop. At one of the courts, two boys received the religious merit badge from the Roman Catholic bishop, who bestowed the awards to the accompaniment of flashbulbs and much ado from the audience, especially the Catholic families present. The Courts of the Downtown troop are festive, folksy occasions due to the fact that so many of the parents work with the troop and therefore know each other, an important feature of this troop.

In sum, the courts in both troops function to publicly reward a boy's achievements. However, as with other activities, there is a more extensive active boy participation (other than the senior patrol leader) and formal parent involvement in the Downtown troop courts in contrast with those of the University troop, where the senior patrol leader and the scoutmaster play the only formal roles.

CONCLUSION

The research findings reported here contribute specific data on Boy Scouts as an educational institution that have been previously lacking. The view in the literature that involvement in Boy Scouts is usually casual and represents only a minor portion of a boy's leisure time (cf., Hollingshead, 1975:221) should be modified to recognize that the opposite may be the case. In this case study, which, by design, examines two troops viewed by the organization as well functioning troops, Boy Scout activities for active members took up a great deal of their (and sometimes their parents') free time. In fact, membership in the Downtown troop for many of the boys draws a net around them and their families, placing them all in an active and powerful social network that provides varied educational experiences for youth and makes considerable time (and driving) demands on parents. Furthermore, in our study, Boy Scouts does not attempt to insulate youth from real life experiences (Hollingshead, 1975:108) but in these two troops attempts to train boys to play adult roles and draws boys into increased interaction with many adults, especially in the Downtown troop, where meetings have a high adult to youth ratio.

The comparative perspective provided by this case study of two troops is of theoretical interest since it highlights the potential flexibility of Boy Scouts as an educational setting. It identifies features of the setting that appear to be critical in creating contrasting educational environments that communicate different messages to young males about their capabilities and future roles as adults as well as the meaning of "Boy Scouts."

A major point is that, on one level, both troops were organized "by the book." The formal similarity in social organization and meeting activities, such as boy-led learning groups or Boards of Review, in the two troops creates certain similarities in educational events. The differences in the troops are particularly interesting, however, since they create quite different learning situations even though the specific events are similar.

The key variable in explaining the differences in the University and Downtown troops is clearly the ideology of the scoutmaster and other troop adults. In these troops, there is a contrast between an emphasis on fun and adult participation through donations of money in the University troop and fun combined with a work ethic supported by adult donations of time in the Downtown troop. Obviously there is a relationship between these dimensions since the fund-raising of the Downtown troop necessitates large amounts of adult time in support activities and the potential of fund-raising in the other troop is constrained by limited adult involvement.

The contrast in scoutmaster styles which reflects their individual philosophies as well as their personalities sets the tone for the meetings and rounds out the ideological thrust of the two troops.

In the Downtown troop, boys are presented with a highly structured environment, reflected immediately by the control of space during troop meetings, a control symbolic of the entire troop approach, led by a demanding scoutmaster, buttressed by an equally demanding committee of adult assistants. Rules for behavior are clearly formulated by adults and enforced. In contrast, the relaxed use of space in the University troop, along with the jovial approach of the scoutmaster and the absence of other adults, symbolizes the idea that scouting is fun and that boys are in charge. In this troop boys make and enforce their own rules which often change.

The contrasts in social structure in the two troops also reflect troop ideologies. The sustained contribution of time by a relatively stable group of adults in the Downtown troop, and the absense of this feature in the University troop, underlies the major contrast in the social structure -- the multiple roles occupied by adults in the former troop and the absence of occupants in these roles in the other troop. The different ideological approaches of the scoutmasters, with one emphasizing work and the other a good time, underlay the other major contrast --the larger number of positions of responsibility assigned to more youth in the first case and a smaller number in the second. The structure of youth roles in the Downtown troop approximates that of adult roles in that many youth, other than the formal leaders, participate publicly in leadership positions, e.g., in teaching groups and Courts of Honor. Likewise, the more centralized structure of youth leadership in the other troop parallels that of adult roles.

An examination of youth behavior in formal roles in the troops suggests that it also seems to mirror adult behavior. Adults in the Downtown troop in formal or informal roles are highly organized and celebrate the virtue of being organized. Boy leaders, likewise, are prepared and informal leaders emerge whenever the occasion permits. Organized youth leadership in the University troop was a self-identified problem and appeared to be a problem to us, in spite of the repeated encouragement of the scoutmaster. In these troops, it appears youth use adult models in the immediate setting of the troop as templates for their own behavior. Multiple leadership adult models were absent in the troop with boy leader problems. It is also possible that the more diffuse leadership pattern in the Downtown troop relates to the larger size of the troop making it possible to draw from a larger pool of potential youth leaders. However, we favor the former interpretation.

Youth responses in terms of meeting behavior, in general, are clearly a direct result of each troop's social organization and idealogy. The serious planning, teaching, and testing, monitored by a strict scoutmaster in the Downtown troop is embraced by youth as appropriate behavior. For example, one boy commented:

> Our troop is a real good troop. We have a real good scoutmaster. The boys have gotten used to his getting mad. We know he isn't mad. He wants you to do it the right way. He acts mad so you remember it. His nostrils flare -- that's so you remember it for the next time. He jokes with us and we joke with him.

In interviews, boys also echoed themes which emerged in the adult interviews, especially the importance of paying one's own way, advancing in the system, and occupying leadership roles. In addition, their comments also demonstrated a keen appreciation of specific personality traits of the different troop adults illustrating that adults were indeed being closely scrutinized.

In the University troop, it is a boy's world. Much of the youth activity is directed at interacting in a lively, fast moving peer culture, led by older boys. Boys learn to joke and to get along with older peers. Verbal sparring dominated nearly all activities, in high or low key, depending on the activity. In interviews, boys, like those in the other troops, expressed the view of their scoutmaster -- that Boy Scouts is an arena where you have fun, do interesting things, and learn outdoor skills. Some of the older boys explicitly rejected the model of the Downtown troop. For example, one commented:

> The troop is good for me. It's not just the organization and stuff, it's the guys. The scoutmaster wants some structure. He's not gonna press it that much. It's pretty much up to us, I guess, within limits. [The Downtown troop] . . . there's just too much discipline. There's no room for anything. Work, work, work, advancement, raise money.

It is clear from this study that while all Boy Scouts have probably had some similar experiences as Boy Scouts, the official approach can be used to construct learning situations which may vary considerably in the messages they communicate to youth.

In this study, local troop ideology emerged as the key variable in explaining troop differences -- the ideology is defined by adults and appears to be supported by youth members in the two troops under study. Adults and boys are aware of troop differences and can select a troop which suits their orientation. Adults with similar values come together and through time troop traditions are developed, reflecting these values. The Downtown troop has been "the travelling troop" and probably will be for some time in the future. Given the nature of the institution, theoretically it should also be easy to introduce change in a troop focus.

Although it is impossible to generalize from the study of two troops, the data presented here suggest that membership in Boy Scouts can be a major socializing experience and its significance in the formation or reinforcement of values and the development of adult perspectives for youth should not be underrated. The content of the messages communicated to youth will be defined by local troop ideology.

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CHAPTER 5

GETTING IT TOGETHER IN CHEVAK:
A CASE STUDY OF A YOUTH ORGANIZATION
IN A RURAL ALASKAN VILLAGE

by

G. Williamson McDiarmid

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines a youth organization developed in a rural Eskimo village both to educate youth and to integrate them into functional roles in the community. What makes this youth organization unusual is that it is entirely indigenous and self-supporting. It is neither part of a national organization nor is it funded by an outside agency.

The development of this organization in a remote Eskimo village may be viewed as a response to a number of social and economic changes. Eskimo communities have been beset by a wide range of technological, political, social, and economic upheavals during the past fifty years. These changes have altered beyond recognition the traditional values, roles, and institutions of these former nomadic, hunting/fishing people. While such radical changes affect everyone, youth in particular seem at sea both in the old world which is passing and the new one just coming into being.

In Eskimo society--as in the dominant culture--the concept of youth has changed with changing economic and social conditions.[1] While the family was the basic subsistence unit, young people played vital economic roles from a fairly early age. While still teenagers, young men participated fully in hunting and fishing activities. Young women as well as young men also played important secondary economic roles. They were expected to pack water, gather firewood, mouse foods,[2] berries, greens, and bird eggs, assist in food preparation and preservation--particularly at fish camp--and to be available as all-around "go-fers" for their parents and grandparents.

Today, while young people are still expected to perform many of these same tasks, the advent of modern technology, the cash economy, social services and public assistance have altered the economic roles of young and old alike.

Youth of the present generation find themselves with a considerable amount of leisure time--certainly more than the generations of village youth that preceded them.

Part-time and full-time employment is, moreover, very limited.[3] Consequently, there is not enough wage employment for adults who need jobs, much less for youth. While the arrival of television and the construction of village high schools with gymnasiums for sports have relieved somewhat the burden of boredom, many village youth have difficulty finding activities they enjoy. This is particularly true during winter and spring when storms are frequent and fierce.

Limited opportunities for enjoyable leisure time activities is only part of the problem village youth face. Young people are also somewhat confused about the adult roles they are expected to play. On the one hand, their teachers and Native leaders are constantly exhorting them to get the education and training they will need to manage the resources allotted to them by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. On the other hand, parents, elders, and others want them to learn and maintain their language and subsistence lifestyle. While many Native people manage this dual role, young people perceive the conflicts inherent in these divergent expectations as pressure. As one young man said, "If I go to college, my father will be disappointed. I won't be here to help him with his nets and traps. If I don't go, my cousin [a city administrator] and my teachers will be disappointed."

This pressure and the lack of fulfilling leisure time activities are exacerbated by the ambiguity that goes with being a youth in any culture.

Adolescents simultaneously must go through the difficult passages of physical maturation and change and psychological development. Youth are bombarded by multiple stimuli that affect their attitudes, aspirations, and self-concepts. The sense of self--so critical to feelings of worth and competence--is as yet fragile. Socially, the constantly shifting alliances and friendships characteristic of adolescent groups afford little in the way of security. In short, physically, psychologically, and socially, youth is, at best, a turbulent and trying period.

Taking all of these factors together, it is little wonder that the ambiguity and confusion that Native youth experience has manifest themselves in serious social problems. Suicide rates among young Alaska Natives entering adulthood were alarmingly high and rising steadily. In the period 1965-69, the suicide rate among Alaska Natives in the age range 20 to 24 was 47 per 100,000. From 1970 to 1973, the suicide rate climbed to 170.6 per 100,000. While the result of many factors, this increase in the suicide rate is one extreme manifestation of the difficulties Alaska Native youth face today. Other indications are the high incidence of alcoholism and drug abuse found in the villages and regional center.

For the adults in Native communities, these youth problems seem depressingly resistant to amelioration. Until the Hootch Decree in 1976, adolescents left the village during their teenage years to attend boarding schools either in Alaska or in the Lower 48. With the creation of the village high schools, parents and other community members had to understand and relate to a group of adolescents who had, previously, gone through the trials and errors, rebellion and fads of adolescence largely at a distance. Parents saw their children only during summer when the exigencies of gathering sufficient food stores for the coming winter preoccupied both. Thus, adult community members were, by and large, unprepared to cope daily with young people and their problems.

In the mainstream western culture, out-of-school activities and organizations are institutionalized and contribute to socializing youth for adult roles. Many youth have after-school, weekend, and summer jobs. Various youth associations--Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, 4-H, Boys' Clubs, Future Farmers of America and so on--offer educational, recreational, and social activities. In rural Alaska, however, such organizations are simply not relevant. The symbols, values, and activities of these organizations evolved from a culture quite different from that of Native America. Typically, these national youth organizations collapse as soon as the key organizer leaves. Only when the local community has taken over the organization and adapted its form, goals, and activities to the local norms have such organizations taken root.[4]

The Chevak Village Youth Association--the subject of this paper--is, on the other hand, an entirely indigenous youth organization, created and managed by the youth and young adults of the village. It has developed and evolved, in part, as a response to the problems of youth in the village.

In Chevak, as in most villages, leisure time activities for youth are very limited. Many youth pass their leisure time hanging out--either at the "pool hall" or at the store. The pool hall is actually the village recreational center owned by the village corporation. It houses pool tables, pin ball machines, video games, a snack bar, and a hall for dances and roller skating. During weekday evenings young people will typically sit at the booths talking with their friends or playing cribbage, shooting pool, or playing the games. On weekends, the youth gather to dance to the heavy bass beat of disco music. In short, the pool hall is the center of leisure time activities for many of the youth.

The snack bar at the corporation store is another favorite hangout. Young people sit on the stools or at the tables and talk with any of their friends who may happen by. Visiting is another preferred leisure activity. This may involve going to a friend or relative's house to watch T.V., talk, or merely sit quietly. When weather permits and transportation is available, the youth will visit friends or relatives or shop at the store in nearby villages.

For both young men and young women, basketball is a favorite activity. For high school age youth, participation is limited, in the winter and spring, by the gym schedule. During the school year, the village basketball league, open only to non-students, holds practices for men and women's teams four nights per week and games on the weekends. Games are important not only for the participants but for the spectators as well. Inter-league and inter-village competition is fierce. During close games, the traditional restraint ascribed to the Eskimo people is shattered by thunderous cheers and the sharp cries of spectators.

For young men, hunting and snowmachining are also favorite activities. While young women also enjoy snowmachining, they rarely get involved in chasing arctic fox or hares or in checking traps, all of which are much enjoyed by the males. These activities are limited to those who have access to a snowmachine and money for gas.

Hanging out, visiting, playing basketball, and snowmachining pretty well exhaust the leisure activities available to youth in Chevak. Not surprisingly, youth become bored with the limited variety of activities open to them. In looking for alternatives, many come in contact with drugs--primarily marijuana--and alcohol, both of which are readily available in the village. Community awareness of this problem translates into support for CVYA as the purveyor of activities which represent constructive alternatives to substance abuse.

Although the prevention of alcohol and drug abuse is a primary goal of the organization, it is by no means CVYA's only objective. Providing opportunities for villagers to gather and enjoy themselves in communal activities is of equal importance. Communal celebrations of major holidays--Christmas, Easter, Mothers Day, Memorial Day, Independence Day, Halloween, and Thanksgiving--is the intent of many activities. In addition, CVYA sponsors two festivals each year--in March and in August--which are intended not only for Chevakers but for villagers from throughout the area, particularly from the villages of Scammon Bay and Hooper Bay.

Organization of the Paper

What follows is a description of the Chevak Village Youth Association and its activities. In the first section, we review the methodology of the study. We then turn to the content of the study--a description of the village and its history and of the lifestyle of the villagers. In the third section, we examine the structure of the organization itself. Finally, we describe the functions of the activities that the organization sponsors.

This paper is directed to two groups: individuals who are interested in the educational role and function of youth organizations in culturally different settings; and individuals who see the development of youth organizations in rural Alaskan villages as an alternative to activities which may be unconstructive or even self-destructive.

METHODOLOGY

In the fall of 1980, I travelled to Chevak to talk with the leaders of the Chevak Village Youth Association as part of our study of youth organizations as a "third educational environment." I soon realized that the key to understanding this organization lay in the overall social structure of the village. I chose, consequently, to spend the entire year in the village, observing the organization and supporting my research by teaching in the village school.

In November, elections for the Board of Directors of the Chevak Village Youth Association were held. I was nominated and subsequently elected to the Board. This provided me with a unique vantage point from which to observe the organization--as well as with an enjoyable opportunity to work with the young adults and youth of the village. For the next seven months, I participated in all of the organization's activities from board meetings and bull sessions to setting up and participating in events. I found myself cooking for an Elder's dinner, helping to arrange speakers for conferences on alcoholism and youth leadership, selling tickets for a carnival, setting up displays of arts and crafts, and participating in a host of other activities.

At the same time, I tried to answer certain questions about the organization and its activities: What was the role of the organization in the village? Why did this organization work when attempts to organize youth groups in other villages have failed to take root? To what extent and in what ways was the organization educational?

To answer these questions, I conducted interviews with the leaders in the organization, with village leaders, and with youth and their parents.

In addition, I systematically observed all of CVYA's activities, recording my observations on an instrument developed specifically for this project (see appendix 3). Finally, I culled through past financial records and board meeting minutes for information on the origins and growth of the organization.

What follows is a detailed description of the village and the organization. Separating out CVYA from other organizations in the village is not an easy task. The lines that separate the responsibilities and activities of one organization from others in more highly specialized and less socially integrated societies were, in Chevak, blurry at best. The organizational actors do not themselves segregate in separate compartments their activities--work, worship, social, recreational, and so on--to the same degree as do we in the "post industrial" world. In the village, an individual's relationships do not change dramatically from one organizational setting to another. He interacts--throughout his life--with the same people at work, at church, at the community center, at the pool hall, and at family gatherings. We have attempted, nonetheless, to look at CVYA-sponsored activities as separate from other institutions in the village. The reader should bear in mind that this is a somewhat artificial separation.

CONTEXT

Setting

The village of Chevak is located on a bluff that rises above the Ninglikfak River some 18 miles inland from the Bering Sea. Rolling hills lead away from the river to the north while to the south and west the tundra runs nearly flat to the sea. Situated in the Calista Region, the village's closest neighbors are Scammon Bay and Hooper Bay, both coastal communities. The three villages share numerous consanguineous relations.

The present village site has been occupied since 1950. Previously, the village was located at a site called Old Chevak which lies some ten miles southwest of the present village. Flooding caused by storm tides forced the villagers to relocate. A still earlier site, known as Kashunuk, lies further south. The move from Kashunuk to Old Chevak seems to have occurred just after the Second World War. The location of Old Chevak was determined by how far up the Aphrewnm River barges could travel.

Population

According to the city administration, the population of Chevak in 1980 was 520. This represents an increase of 34 percent above the 1970 U.S. Census figure of 387. Of the 23 inhabitants who were non-Native, 17 are Anglo school teachers. In 1980, the school population was 158 in grades K-12. This represents 31 percent of the population.

Religion

Nearly everyone in the village is Catholic. Missionaries of the Catholic Church have been in the area from at least as early as the 1920's. Chevak presently has a church and a priest who also serves the village of Newtok.

Language

The primary language of the village is a dialect known as Cup'ik. Only the villagers of Chevak speak this dialect of Yup'ik. English is spoken as a second language by virtually all villagers under the age of 40 and by some of the older villagers as well. Unlike some Yukon villages where English is supplanting Yup'ik as the primary language of the young, in Chevak Cup'ik remains the everyday language of the people.

Employment

Year-round employment is limited. The largest employer is the Kashunamiut School District which employs 31 full-time teachers, aides, and workers of whom 17 are Anglos. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, which is responsible for the maintenance of the school and teacher housing, employs an additional 5 individuals.

The Chevak Company Corporation, which operates the general store, the hardware store, and the recreation hall, is the next largest employer with 26 full-time positions. The city administration provides 13 jobs, the post office 1, the health clinic--administered by the Yukon-Kuskokwim Health Corporation--3, the Head Start program 3, and the two small general stores, 2. The total number of full-time positions is 81, sixteen of which are funded through CETA. In the summer, the number of jobs is augmented by construction projects which provide from 5 to 10 additional positions, by firefighting jobs and, during the past two years, by the Summer Youth Employment Program.

A new source of cash income is commercial herring fishing. Ten boats from Chevak joined others from Hooper Bay and Scammon Bay for the herring run in May 1981. A cooperative, organized among the three villages with assistance from the Alaska Native Foundation, provides loans to purchase outboard motors, nets, and kits from which co-op members build their boats. If, as appears likely from early reports on the herring harvest, the venture proves profitable, commercial fishing could become an important source of income for villagers. As commercial fishing "partners" are nearly identical with the pattern of association among consanguial kin in subsistence fishing, this new form of enterprise may be viewed as an outgrowth of traditional food gathering activities.

Subsistence Activities

Most villagers participate in subsistence activities throughout the year whether or not they have a job in the wage sector. The annual cycle of subsistence sets the rhythm of life in the village. In the fall, activities include bird and seal hunting and subsistence fishing. Birds taken include geese, ducks, swans, cranes, and ptarmigan. The numberous lakes, sloughs, rivers, and marshes in the area make it an ideal bird nesting ground: The Chevak area has been called the greatest goose nursery in North America (Peterson, 1955). Fish most commonly taken include blackfish, flounder, whitefish, tomcod, pike--from nearby Kusilvak Mountain--and salmon. Fall is also the season for gathering the tall, strong grasses from Hooper Bay that women will weave into baskets with characteristic butterfly decorations. These are sold to tourists and the Anglo teachers to generate additional cash incomes.

In the winter, hunting and trapping are limited to fur-bearing animals including mink, weazels, otter, muskrat, Arctic fox and red fox. The mink of the area are unusually large and, in recent years, prolific. Trapping mink and selling their pelts provides additional income for about fifteen families. Blackfish traps set under the ice in deep sloughs supply some fish throughout the winter.

Springtime brings back both the birds and, as the ice on the coast breaks up, seals and walrus. Seal hunting is the major source of excitement for the young men of the village in March. Camping in canvas tents along the coast, the hunters spend hours threading among ocean-liner size icebergs scanning the choppy waters for the sleek heads of the seals to emerge for air. This is still exclusively a male domain and even the young hunters with "modern" educations look askance at women's visits to camp. Traditionally, the seal were thought to be offended by the presence of women at seal camp.

By late April or early May, as the snow disappears from the tundra, the birds return. Snowmachine travel is difficult and dangerous at this time of melting ice, so many hunters walk out to take the geese and ducks with shotguns. Women walk the spring tundra as well, searching for eggs and tundra greens.

During summer, when the river ice has broken up and school is out, many families travel by boat down the rivers to their traditional fish camps. The fish taken with gill nets are cut up and dried for use during the lean winter months. In August, families may move again, this time to berry camp where they harvest blueberries, salmon berries, cranberries, and blackberries, returning to the village for the opening of school.

It is difficult to establish the economic importance of these subsistence activities. Given the relatively few jobs available in the wage sector and the high prices for foodstuffs in the stores, it appears that subsisistence is vital. This is reflected in the intent that CVYA has shown in helping to maintain subsistence skills. During the current year, CVYA applied for and was granted funds by the Alaska Council for the Arts to hold workshops for traditional skills such as blackfish trap-making and sled-building.

Income[5]

With few jobs available in the wage sector, average family incomes are low. Although it is difficult to determine income figures precisely, we can indicate an approximate level. According to the Association of Village Council Presidents (AVCP) which administers federal programs such as CETA in the Calista Region, annual per capita money income for the residents of Chevak is in the range of $2000 to $3000. Another index of the poverty of the region is the eligibility status of all students in the school district for both the school lunch program and Title I. According to the Census Bureau's estimates for 1977, per capita money income from all sources for Chevak was 34 percent of the estimate for the state as a whole, 30 percent of the estimate for Anchorage, and 54 percent of the estimate for the nation (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1980). Using food stamp eligibility standards, we find that in April 1981, 27 households containing 141 individuals--or 27 percent of the total village population--qualified for food stamps. For the average Chevak family of 5 persons, the maximum allowable income standard is $1025 per year. Thus, roughly a quarter of the households in the village have annual cash incomes of $1025 or less.

Incomes are supplemented by a variety of public assistance programs. Typical of the levels of public aid coming into the village monthly are the following figures for May 1981:

Program	Villagers Served	Total Funding
Aid to Families with Dependent Children	47 families	$12,883
Aid to the Permanently Disabled	16 individuals	1,858
Old Age Assistance	12 individuals	1,424

The level of assistance from the Food Stamp Program was noted above. General assistance payments to recipients in the Bethel area, consisting of 57 villagers was just under $1 million in 1980-81.

It is important to remember that dollars in Chevak buy less--on the average roughly 25 percent less--than do dollars in Anchorage. For example, a new snow machine costs 20 percent more in Chevak; gas and stove oil costs 50 percent more; and a loaf of bread may cost up to 80 percent more. High transportation costs for goods exacerbates the relative poverty of the village.

Despite this poverty, the young people of Chevak have created an organization which is a virtually self-sufficient economic entity. While CVYA receives a small grant--$2,500 in 1980--from the city, the bulk of its $40,000 annual operating budget is generated by the organization. Most of the money that is earned through various activities--bingo, snack bar, gate receipts from basketball games, and so on--is returned to the village through CVYA's activities; a portion leaves the village to pay for supplies.

Government

In 1967, Chevak was incorporated as a second-class city. The mayor heads a City Council composed of seven members elected by the village. The city uses revenue sharing funds from the state to provide certain public services including police protection, telephone service, a small library, and parks and recreation. Funds for parks and recreation are channelled to the Chevak Village Youth Association. The city raises additional revenues to finance services through a 2 percent sales tax.

In response to the Indian Self-Determination Act (PL93-638) of 1975, a Traditional Council was formed as the tribal association recognized by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The Council may apply for and, if granted, administer educational and social service programs.

In 1980, the Council, exercising its self-governing rights under the Indian Self-Determination Act, contracted with the BIA to run the village school. The Council, functioning as the school board, thus became responsible for the educational policy and program, the staffing, and the financial management of their elementary and high schools.

A third governing body in the village is the Board of Directors of the village corporation--Chevak Company Corporation (CCC). Under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, CCC is entitled to 138,240 acres of federal lands. When these lands are conveyed, CCC will hold title to the subsurface rights. CCC will in turn convey 1,280 acres of its lands to the Municipality of Chevak.

All Native villagers are shareholders in CCC. The Board sets policy for the Corporation's enterprises such as the general store, the hardware store, and the recreational hall. All shareholders are eligible for election to the Board. A shareholders meeting is held at least once a year.

A few observations on these governing boards may indicate the organizational complex of which CVYA is a part. All three of the bodies described above are active, meet regularly, and are regarded with respect by the villagers. The average age of members of the three boards is 32 while at least one elder serves on two of the three boards. Self-government in Chevak is no longer merely a goal; it is a reality. Four years of planning and negotiation went into the assumption of control over the school. Although the school may have benefitted more economically by joining the Lower Yukon REAA, villagers preferred local control to more resources.

The creation of the Chevak Village Youth Association may be viewed as another example of the initiative villagers show for local control. An entirely indigenous institution, CVYA was started by a local youth who wanted to control their own recreational activities. As one person in the village put it, "People here in Chevak are concerned with a youth organization in which youth do things for themselves. They are big on self-reliance." While there is a lot of talk about local control in rural Alaska, the villagers of Chevak have manifest their desire for self-determination less through rhetoric and more through action.

THE ORGANIZATION

History and Stability of the Chevak Village Youth Association (CVYA)

Although CVYA was not incorporated until 1976, its origins may be traced back to the mid 60's. At that time, two individuals--Frank Chayalkun and Peter Atchak--set up a "coffee house" in the generator room of the BIA school. The principal teacher at that time permitted the boys to decorate the room in the fashion of the times: "We painted flowers and slogans on the walls--like 'Love' and 'Peace." Frank borrowed a coffee pot from home and small groups would gather to drink coffee and listen to the radio.

The effort was short-lived. The elders regarded the "coffee house" with suspicion--"They considered it a 'sin center' for youth." At the same time, BIA administrators in Bethel caught wind of what was happening and ordered their maintenance personnel to restore the generator room to its original state.

During the late 1960's, young people who were students at St. Mary's Mission School on a tributary of the lower Yukon River organized the Young People's Club which functioned during the summer months when students returned from various boarding schools around the state. The Young People's Club was not autonomous:

> It was controlled by the senior citizens. Everything we wanted to do had to be approved by the Village Council. Everything was controlled and OK'd by the Council--and they wanted to know everything that went on--who would be there, when it would end, etcetera.

The Young People's Club put on skits, talent shows, dances and movies. They also performed community service projects such as cleaning up the village and doing housework and chores for village elders who did not have young people around the house to help them. Although the club provided activities and entertainment for the village as a whole, it was not funded by the Village Council: "We had to raise our own money for everything we did."

The Young People's Club was succeeded, in 1974, by the "Action Group." Initially, the Action Group consisted of thirteen members, most of whom were or had been students at St. Mary's Mission High School. The group had officers and held regular meetings. Members who missed three meetings in a row were purged from the roll. To generate start-up funds, the group raffled off a sofa-chair from the store.

From 1974 to 1976 when CVYA was incorporated, the Action Group sponsored a variety of activities. At Halloween, they showed movies, put together a "haunted house," and had games. They raised money to bring village students home from St. Mary's for the Christmas holidays. They donated money to hold movies for the whole village and to decorate the church at Christmas. They also held community birthday parties. At Thanksgiving, they prepared a dinner and at Christmas they sponsored a gift exchange and prepared food baskets for families.

The minutes from the meetings of the Action Group reveal a sensitivity to the opinions of the village members--"We may be rejected by the people so we should let them know we mean to be service to the people,"--and an unsuccessful attempt to get financial backing from the City Council--"They said--'We already have Parks and Recreation Department. We don't need to support [the Action Group]."

The Action Group firmly established the idea that a youth organization should not only serve the youth but the whole village as well.

> The Action Group had something for everyone. They had bingo. They were finally approved for games of chance by the City Council.

They also sponsored an annual festival--EXPLO '74 and EXPLO '75--which was the forerunner of the annual Tundrafest now sponsored by CVYA.

In 1976, Frank Chayalkun, co-founder of the early "coffee house" and at that time a Councilman, sat down with some of the young people involved in the Action Group to organize "something that will stand, that will be supported . . . a lasting organization." Three former members of the Action Group signed the incorporation papers and the Chevak Village Youth Association, Inc., a non-profit organization, was born. At the beginning, the organization suffered through an identity crisis: "At first, the 'youth' part [of the title] threw people off. We spent a year to educate the young people that it wasn't just for kids."

Key organizational actors maintain that the most critical factor in achieving legitimacy was "impressing two groups--the city government and the elders in the community." That the organization had sufficiently impressed these groups was apparent from a resolution passed by the City Council in 1979 turning the Parks and Recreation program over to CVYA. Two of the elders sat on this council.

We can see from this brief history that CVYA is the culmination of earlier efforts to organize youth. Many of the activities that CVYA sponsors today were first put on by earlier groups--Tundrafest, holiday celebrations, and bingo. All efforts were initiated and carried out by youth on their own.

The community-wide support and legitimacy that CVYA enjoys today have developed, in part, from the activities of earlier organizational efforts.

Organizational Structure

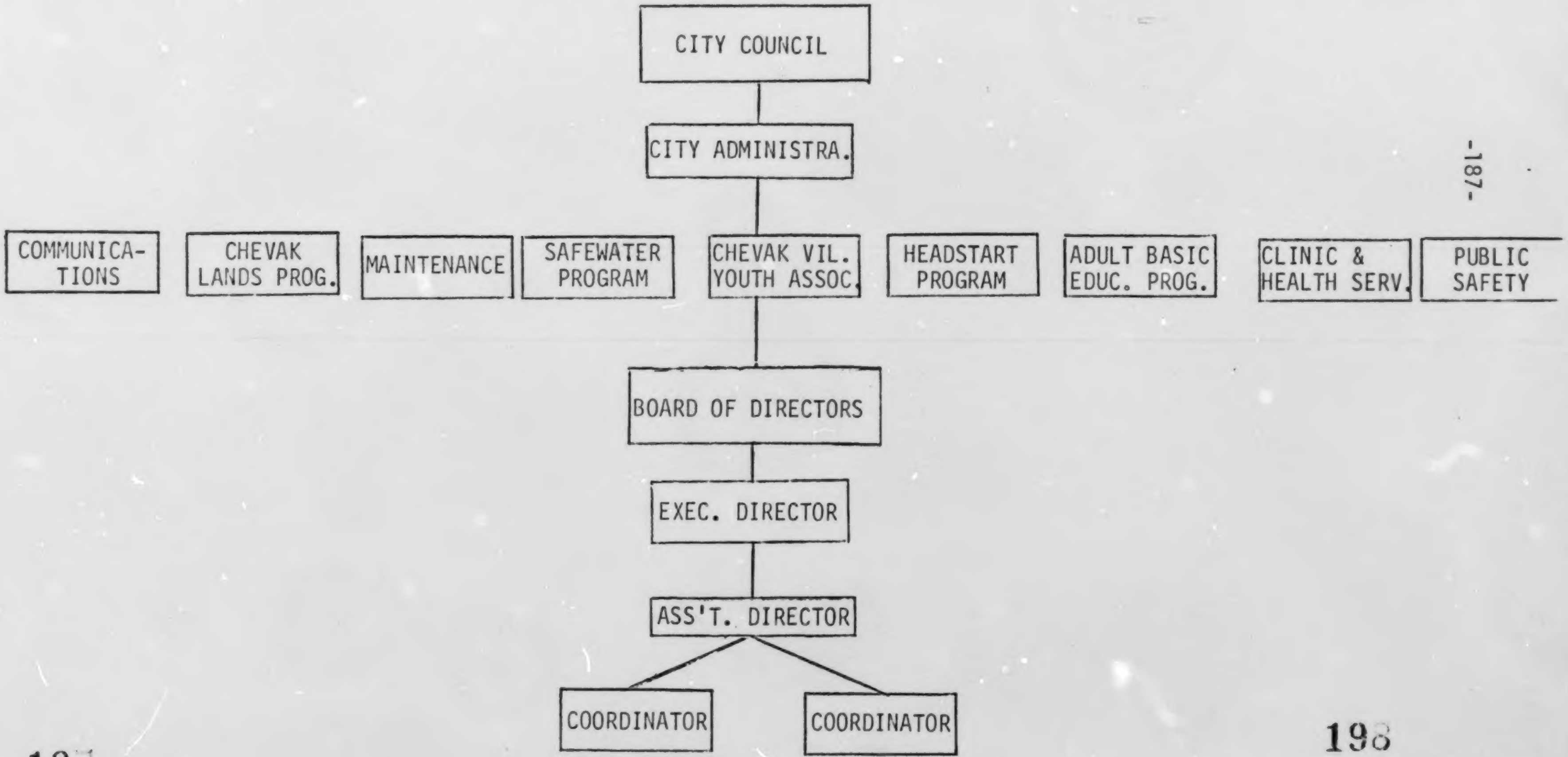
The formal structure of the organization closely resembles that of non-profit organizations in the majority culture (figure 1). Policy-making and planning are carried out by a Board of Directors composed of seven members elected annually. The Board meets regularly each month and frequently has one or more special meetings monthly. For special events--such as Winterfest and Tundrafest--the President of the Board will appoint a special subcommittee for planning. Board members are unusually active in implementing their own plans.

At first glance, it seems that the village has merely adopted a form of organization developed in Western societies. But we may speculate that, in fact, the "Board of Directors" concept is simply a variation on a traditional Cup'ik form of corporate decision-making. Perhaps as recently as fifteen to twenty years ago, elders in the village would gather in the Kaygiq--a large mud structure where the men took fire baths. In the kaygiq, the elders literally sweated it out as they discussed issues which were of concern to the whole village. Each individual could express his opinion and the discussion would continue until a consensus was reached. Thus, both authority and planning were shared among the elders.

Although the CVYA Board of Directors has a President and meetings are conducted in a parliamentary manner, all the members have equal authority in planning, in setting the agenda, and in discussions. Board members actively seek to feel out their fellow members and to compromise so as to reach

FIGURE 1

FORMAL GOVERNMENTAL AND SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS IN CHEVAK
AND THE
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE CHEVAK VILLAGE YOUTH ASSOCIATION


CITY COUNCIL
CITY ADMINISTRA.
COMMUNICA-TIONS
CHEVAK LANDS PROG.
MAINTENANCE
SAFEWATER PROGRAM
CHEVAK VIL. YOUTH ASSOC.
HEADSTART PROGRAM
ADULT BASIC EDUC. PROG.
CLINIC & HEALTH SERV.
PUBLIC SAFETY
BOARD OF DIRECTORS
EXEC. DIRECTOR
ASS'T. DIRECTOR
COORDINATOR
COORDINATOR

consensus. The vast majority of the Board's decisions are reached unanimously. Indeed, on only one voice vote during the eight month period of observation did the Board fail to reach unanimity.

The Executive Director is a locally hired individual whose primary responsibility is to ensure that the Board's policies and plans are implemented. He or she is present at all meetings of the Board and reports to the Board monthly on the organization's finances. According to individuals who have served as Executive Director, at least half of the Director's time is devoted to maintaining CVYA's accounts. The Executive Director is paid, in part, from funds allocated by the City Council for Parks and Recreation and, in part, from revenues generated by CVYA activities.

The Director has an Assistant who does much of the "leg" work of the organization. In 1980-81, this individual was a CETA employee. The Assistant supervises the coordinators who, in 1980, were Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) workers. The coordinators may serve as Scout leaders, supervise dances for pre-teens, aid in putting on Tundrafest, and handle some of the organization's paper work.

The City Administrator is, according to the Articles of Incorporation, the "registered agent" for the organization. He provides advice and assistance and acts as an overseer of the organization for the City Council. While the City Council's formal control over the organization is limited to that portion of its activities funded by the $2500 allotted for Parks and Recreation, the Council could, theoretically, intervene if CVYA failed to fulfill its functions. This is unlikely because of the informal consultations that take place among CVYA Board members, the Executive Director, the City Administrator, and Councilmen.

CVYA has no formal membership. Rather, all village youth are considered members. At the same time, an informal group of young people exists that can be counted on to volunteer to help with activities. These young people are predominantly females of high school age. Although CVYA has had membership cards printed, the organization has made no concerted effort to register members. The reason for this may be that, outside of the formal structure, the organization rests on the ideas of voluntary participation and inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness. The current Executive Director put these ideas into the following words: "The youth of Chevak are volunteering. All of them are able to participate in CVYA. . . There are always plenty of people willing to help and volunteer."

Funding

In 1980, CVYA's operating budget was about $40,000. Of this amount, only $2500 is assured. The remainder must be generated by CVYA through its activities. The single largest source of revenue is the village bingo concession. With average monthly receipts of $2450, bingo provides about 75 percent of CVYA's operating funds. Sales of soda pop, snacks, and books and magazines from the CVYA office generate about $350 monthly. During the winter months, gate receipts from basketball games bring in about $300 each month. Other CVYA activities--such as dinners, games, raffles, and dances--bring in another $160 a month. From all sources, average monthly receipts are $3260 during basketball months (November-March) and $2960 during the rest of the year.

The single largest expense for the organization is the Executive Director's salary which, during the period of this study, was $1300 monthly.

At this time, however, the organization faced substantial debts from the previous years. To meet these obligations, the Board chose to ask the Director to resign. The revenues for the months from February to April that would have normally been used to pay the Director were applied instead against the outstanding debt. When these obligations were met, a new Director was hired. Other expenses include overhead costs for the CVYA office, purchase of items for sale in the "snack bar", transportation for basketball players traveling to nearby villages for games, supplies for bingo games, prizes for games, and purchases of items for raffles. For the period November 1980 to March 1981, expenses averaged $2600 monthly. As noted above, however, during this period the Board was cutting back on expenses to meet outstanding debts. In addition, the period does not include CVYA's most costly activity--Tundrafest.

From this accounting we see that the organization is, by and large, economically independent, generating funds from the community to pay for activities for the community. An exception to this is a grant of $36,000 that CVYA received from the Rural Development Agency in 1980 to purchase the materials to build a youth center. The building was completed in the Fall of 1981.

Relations with the School

The Kashunamiut (Chevak) School District has its own program of extra-curricular activities which includes social activities and athletics. Students who participate in basketball at the school are ineligible to participate in the City League Basketball sponsored by CVYA. Generally, the school is very supportive of CVYA activities, making available school facilities and equipment for CVYA events. When possible, CVYA reciprocates.

ACTIVITIES

Goals and Purposes of the Organization

Though nominally an organization for youth, the Chevak Village Youth Association serves the entire village community. Functioning as the parks and recreation department of the city, CVYA sponsors events that are primarily social and recreational. These two characteristics distinguish CVYA in clientele served and in function performed from the village school: While the latter is strictly youth-oriented and educational, the former is community-oriented and social/recreational as well as educational. As one of the organization's leaders said, "The main goal of CVYA is to create recreation for the whole village."

Organizational participants also mentioned the educational function of the organization. "[CVYA] prepares young people to be leaders. It gives them a better understanding of the village corporation, how it works, how it's organized," said one. Continuing, he added, "[The youth] also learn how to do things to make it work. Like Barbara [a Board member] is learning how to work with the books [financial records]. It gives them something rather than nothing to do." A former President of the Board of Directors spoke of the need to inform youth and their parents about the effects of alcohol and drug abuse: "CVYA is for education and recreation. The youth don't actually know about the effects of alcohol and drugs. Their parents probably don't know either.

A past Executive Director of CVYA described the goal of the organization as both recreational and educational:

> It's to try to keep them out of trouble, keep them active. It's also teaching skills--like the village history project. The kids do interviews with the elders. In 1978, we sponsored a sixteen-week cultural project and hired older folks to teach young people to sew mukluks, to do ivory carving, wood carving, and sled-making. One other purpose of CVYA is for the youth to plan for themselves, to sponsor their own activities. They work with local government to show them that the young people can manage their own affairs.

From these remarks, we see that CVYA's perceived goals are both recreational and educational. Recreation is viewed as important to relieve boredom: "When they are idle, they get into drugs like marijuana and alcohol." Or as another informant put it, "If they have nothing to do, they turn to other ways to entertain themselves, like drinking or taking drugs." Education is viewed as needed in several areas: first of all, training in organizing and in leadership; secondly, passing on traditional skills; and thirdly, information on the effects of alcohol and drugs.

Functions of CVYA Activities

In analyzing the functions of the 42 activities sponsored by CVYA in the period August 1980 to May 1981, we have found that most events serve more than one function. For example, City League Basketball is recreational for the players and a social occasion for spectators. At the same time, gate receipts provide CVYA with much needed revenue. Finally, basketball is also educational as the young adults and older youth who participate emphasize sportsmanship and teamwork. Similarly, bingo has an important economic function, providing CVYA with revenue and winners with lump capital; it is also the social and recreational highlight of the week for the women of the village. All of the events observed had at least two functions and a few, like City League Basketball, had as many as four or five.

Social and/or Recreational

Our analysis of CVYA activities bears out the perception that the organization's leaders have of its goals and purposes (table 1). Of the 42 activities observed, all but four were social and/or recreational. The emphasis on recreation reflects the concern of the organization's leaders to offer youth constructive alternatives to boredom and substance abuse. This is of particular importance during the winter and early spring when severe cold and stormy weather restrict outdoor activities. Television reception--at least up to the summer of 1981--is, at best, unreliable and irregular while the routine of hanging out at the pool hall, roller skating, going to movies, and visiting grows old.

The social function of so many of the activities accords with the village social pattern. Individuals seek out opportunities for personal interaction. Visiting is a primary social activity year-round. Young people hang out at the pool hall to be with their friends. Hunting, fishing, and food gathering activities in general are carried out in pairs, groups, or family units. Solitary activities are rare.

Typical of recreational and social activities sponsored by CVYA are City League Basketball for men and women, both Western and Eskimo dances, dinners, games, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. Many of these activities are clustered around holidays--Halloween, Thanksgiving, Christmas, Mother's Day, Memorial Day, Father's Day and Independence Day. CVYA, in addition, holds two festivals annually that have now become village traditions:

TABLE 1

FUNCTIONS OF CVYA EVENTS
(August 1980 to May 1981)

	PRIMARY FUNCTION		SECONDARY FUNCTION		TOTAL	
Function[a]	No. of Events[b] A	% of Events B	No. of Events[c] C	% of Events D	No. of Events[b]	% of Events
Educational	5	12%	9	24%	14	33%
Social	24	57%	11	61%	35	83%
Recreational	32	76%	1	10%	33	79%
Community Service	10	24%	3	9%	13	31%
Economic	12	29%	13	43%	25	60%

[a] Some events had more than one primary and/or secondary function. For example, Eskimo dances were primarily both recreational and social events and, secondarily, educational.

[b] N = 42

[c] N = 42 - A

Winterfest in March and Tundrafest in August. These festivals include games, athletic events, dances and dinners. After five years of operation, CVYA has developed a regular, almost ritualized cycle of events. Indeed, 36 of the 42 events held during the period of observation had been held in previous years.

Economic

That well over half of CVYA activities have economic functions reflects the need of the organization to generate its own operating funds. Weekly bingo games at the Community Hall provide most of the organization's revenues. The women of the village turn out in large numbers for the chance to win prizes of from $20 to $35, to enjoy the company of other women, and to have an evening away from home. As participants stand to win as much as $35 for an investment of less than 10¢ per card, bingo games also represent a source of lump capital for village women. During Tundrafest, one jackpot can reach several hundred dollars.

Arts and craft shows, held during Christmas, Tundrafest, and Winterfest, offer craftsmen the opportunity to sell their handicrafts and art work while CVYA earns a small commission on sales. Craftwork is displayed at the City offices, giving visitors, villagers, and white school teachers the chance to buy. Baskets, masks, ivory carvings, ulus, dance fans, mukluks, seal skins, bead work, and knitted items are commonly displayed. CVYA also offers cash prizes for the best craftwork in each show.

CVYA also runs a year-round "snack bar" at the City Offices, selling soft drinks, candy, paperbacks, magazines and comics. Games--held at the Community Hall--at holiday times include dart throw, ring toss, musical chairs, trip to Jerusalem, sack races, and so on. These games offer prizes to contestants and provide CVYA with some revenue.

Community Service

Nearly a third (31 percent) of CVYA activities provide some kind of community service. Such services include the arts and crafts shows described above, arranging a gift exchange (Kris Kringle) and gift wrapping at Christmas time, honoring senior citizens with a dinner and free passes to community activities, and sponsoring Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts. These latter activities differ somewhat from their urban counterparts: Scouting in Chevak places less emphasis on formal organizational ceremony and more on outdoor activities and community service such as Clean-Up Day and assisting the elders.

Educational

Another third of CVYA activities are educational in function. The most explicitly educational activities are the Youth Conferences held annually during Tundrafest and Winterfest. Outside speakers who are closely identified with issues relating to youth are invited to address these gatherings. One of the primary goals of the conferences is to disseminate information on youth organizations to visitors from other villages. Although youth from other villages in the region attended these meetings in the past, during the period of observation the audiences were exclusively from Chevak. While other villages indicated an interest in attending, the cost of transportation has proved prohibitive.

Another explicitly educational event was the Alcoholism Awareness Day, held for the first time during Winterfest in March. Alcoholism counselors from Chevak and Napaskiak spoke to an audience of about 25 following a film presentation. Plans to perform a skit written by one of the Board members failed to materialize.

In addition to these explicitly educational events, participating in planning and organizing events teaches youth how to plan, organize, and work in cooperation with others. During both Tundrafest and Thanksgiving, for example, youth were invited to volunteer to assist in running games. The volunteers had to gather the materials needed for the games, set them up in the Community Hall, get prizes from the Executive Director, run the games, insure that they had a replacement if they had to leave or wished to take a break, and collect money or tickets. Many also stayed afterwards to help clean up.

That some learning takes place seems evident from exchanges such as the following with one of the young Board members who frequently assumed responsibility for organizing events:

> "How did you get involved with CVYA?"
>
> "Well, I just used to help out with things--games, dances, things like that--when I started high school here."
>
> "Did that experience help you when you got on the Board?"
>
> "Probably I knew something about how to get people to do things, where to go to get started. Yeah, if I didn't do that before, I wouldn't want to try to do things now. Maybe I got to know I could do it.

This informant apparently not only learned the mechanics of organizing but, perhaps more importantly, gained confidence in her ability to carry out her plans.

This process of learning could be observed over the course of the year. One young female who had become involved because of her friendship with one of the Board members had, by the end of the year, taken a position as a coordinator for CVYA. Both her confidence and her competence had increased. While these changes could not be attributed solely to her participation in CVYA activities, we could speculate that her CVYA experience contributed to these changes.

Other activities such as the Eskimo dances and the arts and crafts shows offered youth the chance to learn more about their own culture and traditions. Young people learn to dance by watching their elders and imitating them. The dances themselves tell about how subsistence activities were carried out in earlier times. Arts and crafts shows give young people the chance to see the products of craft skills. Finally, traditional values such as respect for elders are exemplified by activities such as the Senior Citizen Dinner. Young people helped prepare and serve food while others sang to provide entertainment during the show. That the educational component of these activities and others is implicit rather than explicit is appropriate in a culture where learning by observation rather than by direct instruction has been the tradition.

From our analysis of CVYA sponsored events, we see that most (90 percent) had some recreational and/or social function. More than half (60 percent) had some economic function. A third (31 percent) provided some community service and a third (33 percent) were either explicitly or implicitly educational. Thus, the organization's leaders' perceptions of what CVYA was intended to do accords well with what it actually does.

Youth Participation in Organizing and Facilitating Activities

The key organizational actor in organizing and carrying out activities is the Executive Director. He and the Assistant Director helped to organize 33 of the 42 activities observed--or 79 percent (table 2). Members of the Board of Directors, though formally policy makers and planners, were involved in organizing half of CVYA's activities. Youth who were not members of the organization's formal structure participated in organizing 20 of the 42 activities--or 46 percent. Non-youth organizers of activities were limited almost exclusively to Eskimo dances which are run by the elders. What is important here is the unusually active role that members of the Board of Directors play in organizing events and the virtually total control that youth and young adults have over the direction and organization of activities.

Organizing an activity involves some or all of the following tasks: planning; assembling, ordering, or purchasing needed supplies or equipment; arranging for a location; communicating with participants; preparing the location for the event; enlisting and assigning tasks to volunteer facilitators; overseeing volunteers and "trouble-shooting" during the event; and financial accounting for the event. Often a Board member or the Executive Director would assume responsibility for a given activity. He or she would then enlist youth to assist in organizing the activity. The organizational actor would meet informally with the volunteers. He or she would say, "We're going to have a dinner for Thanksgiving. Somebody needs to pick up turkeys from the store and get them ready to go in the oven." One of the volunteers would take on the task. Another would take responsibility for arranging the school cafeteria. On the day of the event, organizational actors would

TABLE 2

ORGANIZERS AND FACILITATORS OF CVYA EVENTS
(August 1980 to May 1981)

	ORGANIZER[a]		FACILITATOR[b]	
	No. of Events[c]	% of Events	No. of Events[c]	% of Events
Executive Director And Assistants	33	79%	10	23%
Board Members	21	50%	11	26%
Youth	20	48%	25	60%
Other	4	10%	0	0

[a] Organizer is one who is involved in planning, arranging, or setting up an event.

[b] Facilitator is one who assists with an event after it is underway.

[c] N = 42; some events involved more than one organizer and/or one facilitator.

be present to help solve problems that might arise but arrangements and sequence of tasks would be worked out by the organizing youth.

Facilitators we defined as individuals who got involved with an event after it is already organized and underway. Extending the example of Thanksgiving Dinner above, we include as facilitators those participants who arrived in time to help serve the meal, get tea for diners, and bus the tables afterwards. Youth acted as facilitators for over half (60 percent) of the 42 activities observed (table 2). The Executive Director and Assistant Director and the members of the Board acted as facilitators for about half of the events: The former were facilitators for 23 percent of the activities while the latter served as facilitators for 26 percent.

Altogether, youth who were not members of the formal organizational structure were involved as organizers or facilitators at 27 of the 42 observed activities (62 percent). This bears out the organizational leaders' judgment that CVYA allows youth the opportunity to organize and run their own activities. The critical role of the Board of Directors is also borne out by our analysis: Members helped to organize half of all the activities and served as facilitators at a quarter.

Looking more closely at the role experience of youth--including the Executive Director, the Assistant Director, and the Board of Directors--we find that the organization gives young people the chance to learn about planning and organizing activities but little opportunity to develop leadership or teaching ability as we have defined these roles (for definitions, see notes to table 3). In 39 of 42 events (93 percent), youth served as planners and/or organizers. As operators/facilitators, youth participated in 27 of the 42

TABLE 3

ROLE EXPERIENCE OF YOUTH IN CVYA EVENTS
(August 1980 to May 1981)

	No. of Events[g]	% of Events	Total No. of Youth[h]
Roles			
Leader[a]	2	5%	6
Teacher[b]	1	2%	2
Planner/Organizer[c]	39	93%	66
Operator/Facilitator[d]	27	64%	98
Active Participant in Cooperative Activity[e]	15	36%	108
Passive Recipient of[f] Information	5	12	113

[a] Leader is one who visibly directs, commands or guides others during an event.

[b] Teacher is one who intentionally imparts knowledge, skills, or values to another.

[c] Planner/Organizer is one who plans, arranges, or sets up an event and may include assigning others specific tasks within the event.

[d] Operator/Facilitator is one who assists with the process of an event after it is underway.

[e] Active Participant in Cooperative Activity is one whose involvement in an event requires coordination of efforts with others in the activity.

[f] Passive Recipient of Information is one who does not actively participate in an event but who receives knowledge, skill, or value instruction from the event.

[g] N = 42

[h] These figures represent duplicated counts. That is, some youths may have acted as organizers/planners for more than one event.

events (64 percent). In only two activities did youth serve as leaders and as teachers in only one. As active participants in a cooperative activity, youth gained role experience in 15 events (36 percent). Such experiences including serving as officials and monitors at basketball games and tournaments, preparing dinners, holding games at holiday times, participating in Eskimo dances, and putting on potlucks. Finally, as passive recipients of information, youth participated in five events (12 percent). These events were Eskimo dance, the Youth Conferences, and the Alcoholism Awareness Day.

These results appear to be consistent with the ethos of the village. Leaders are expected to lead not by command or directives but rather by suggestion and example. Outsiders who visit a village are sometimes surprised by what they perceive to be a lack of organization; events just seem to "happen" and no one appears to be in charge. What is actually happening is often quite different. Villagers are very familiar with one another's mannerisms and behavior. They convey their plans, intentions, and needs in a manner which is frequently nonverbal and not easily read by outsiders. Individuals tend to share rather than accrue authority.

As our analysis indicates, CVYA allows youth the opportunity to participate in planning and organizing activities for themselves and for other members of the community. That opportunities for role behavior identified as appropriate to a leader or teacher is limited reflects a social and cultural preference for organizational roles which are cooperative rather than directive, demonstrative rather than didactic. The "take charge guy" held up as an ideal in Anglo culture may be scorned as "bossy" in the Eskimo culture.

Clientele

When we look at participation rates for different age groups in CVYA events, we can see the total community orientation of the organization (table 4). Youth participated in more than half of the activities sponsored by CVYA (62 percent). Adults also participated in over half (55 percent) of the activities while children under the age of 13 participated in about a quarter (24 percent) of the 42 activities. CVYA held ten events exclusively for youth, ten exclusively for adults, and three for children. The relatively lower number of activities for children reflects the higher number of unorganized activities--playing on the gym equipment on the school play deck, sledding, ice skating, mouse hunting, mouse-food gathering, visiting, and so on--available to them.

TABLE 4

CLIENTELE FOR CVYA EVENTS
(August 1980 to May 1981)

	No. of Events[d]	Total No. Participating[e]	Mean No. At Each Event	Events Exclusively for Each Category[f]
Clientele				
Youth[a]	26	755	31	10
Children[b]	10	244	27	3
Adults[c]	23	453	21	10

[a] Youth are individuals of high school age and single young people up to the age of 32; see footnote 1 for discussion of youth in this cultural context.

[b] Children are individuals 12 years or younger.

[c] Adults are married individuals or single individuals over the age of 32.

[d] N = 42.

[e] Total number of individuals in each category who actually participated in CVYA events in the period August 1980 to May 1981. This does not include onlookers at these events.

[f] Number of events which were attended exclusively by individuals in each category.

SKILL TRANSMISSION

Skill transmission is the transfer of expert ability or proficiency from one or more individuals to another individual or group. Skill transmission in Eskimo society is usually nonverbal: The learner observes a master closely and then practices the skill.

Of the 42 activities observed, over a third (36 percent) involved the transmission of skills (table 5). Seven of these activities involved skills which have been traditionally transmitted in the village; three activities involved a skill which is identifiably modern--handling money. Five other activities involved skills which are both traditional and modern.

Eskimo dancing, chanting, and drumming are one group of traditional skills transmitted at CVYA activities. At these dances, youth would observe their elders and some--10 at one dance, 14 at the other--would join in. These dances were particularly interesting, for the observer could see evidence of the process of skill transmission. Young children, some just toddlers, who were present at the dances would move their bodies in rhythm with the drums and imitate the hand movements of the dancers on the stage. Presumably, the youth who participated in the dances had imitated their elders in a similar fashion when children. The youth who actually danced could be seen to observe the elders with whom they were dancing and copy their movements.

Skills which had both traditional and modern application included organizing people for an activity and athletic skills such as agility, coordination, and teamwork. These latter skills were transmitted through City League Basketball. One might speculate that the hand-eye coordination in basketball is particularly relevant to hunting. Conditioning is important

TABLE 5

SKILL TRANSMISSION DURING CVYA EVENTS
(August 1980 to May 1981)

Skills Transmitted	No. of Events[a]
Traditional	
Eskimo dancing, chanting, drumming	3
Camping and survival skills	2
Marksmanship	2
Traditional and Modern	
Organizing people	2
Athletic skills (agility, coordination, teamwork)	3
Modern	
Handling money	2

[a] N = 42.

in an environment as harsh and demanding as that of the tundra. Teamwork, which is stressed in basketball, also has subsistence hunting application where hunters go out in pairs or groups.

The transmission of traditional skills is an area that the CVYA Board is attempting to expand. A grant of $10,000 from the Alaska State Council for the Arts will fund classes in carving, sled-building, fish-trap making, and basket weaving for the fall of 1981. The Board also passed a resolution to sponsor the Chevak dancers for such events as the Indian and Eskimo Olympics held in Fairbanks during the summer. Finally, CVYA has been involved in starting a Crafts Cooperative for the village in conjunction with the Alaska Federation of Natives.

CHARACTER IDEALS

The character ideals expressed through CVYA activities are, like the skills transmitted, predominantly traditional. Six activities stressed the importance of young people serving the village while five others exemplified participation in community activities. Assuming responsibility was the ideal expressed in three activities.

Community service was stressed in activities such as the dinners put on by CVYA, the clean-up days held by the Scouts and the gift-wrapping service set up for Christmas. Participation in community activities was the ideal apparent in such activities as the Eskimo dances, the Christmas gift exchange, and the Tundrafest potluck. By encouraging youth to assume responsibility for games at holiday times and at Tundrafest, CVYA also encouraged this as an ideal.

At both youth conferences, the ideal of youth held up was a self-reliant, community-oriented individual equipped with both traditional subsistence skills and modern, academic skills. The Senior Citizens Dinner stressed respect for elders while Alcoholism Awareness Day held up the ideal of sobriety and family responsibility. Finally, the arts and crafts shows exemplified the handicraft tradition of the village.

TABLE 6

CHARACTER IDEALS TRANSMITTED BY CVYA EVENTS
(August 1980 to May 1981)

Character Ideals	No. of Events[a]
Traditional	
Community Service	6
Communal sharing and participation in communal activity	5
Handicraft tradition	3
Assuming responsibility	3
Sportsmanship	3
Eskimo as self-reliant; pride in being Eskimo	2
Respect for Elders	1
Sobriety	1

[a] N = 42.

THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS AS ROLE MODELS

As we can see from the above, CVYA's activities are generally not intended to hold up a clearly defined model for young people to emulate as is the case in other cultures with youth organizations such as Boy Scouts. The members of the CVYA Board of Directors, however, may be viewed as models chosen by the community to exemplify its "ideal" of youth and young adults. The members of the Board who already have families of their own may be seen as transitional figures: They represent the "ideal" of youth making the transition to adulthood.

The average age of the Board members for 1980-81 was 26. Two members were female while five were male. Three of the Board members were married and had children. All were high school graduates, two had university degrees, and one other had some college credit. Four were employed full-time in the wage sector, one was a full-time subsistence hunter and fisherman, one was a high school student, and one other a full-time mother and housekeeper.

All were generally acknowledged to be reliable and dependable. They were also recognized as people who got things done. Four had served on the Board previously and one had been instrumental in getting CVYA started and had served on the Board since its inception. None of them had ever had debilitating problems with alcohol or drugs. None were members of any of the other administrative boards in the village--the City Council, the Traditional Council, or the village corporation board.

The composite model that emerges from these Board members is not unlike the model of "ideal" youth in many cultures: responsible, reliable, moderate, popular, educated, respectful of traditions, family and community-oriented.

That this "ideal" so closely resembles the model of youth held up in Anglo culture may not be surprising: The abstract characteristics of individuals that serve to perpetuate the social unit intact are, with small variations, remarkably similar in both Anglo and Eskimo culture. Board members were not, however, such straight arrows that they turned young people off. They were, rather, moderate in their habits. Youth could recognize that they had faced and continued to face many of the dilemmas and pressures that the youth themselves were facing.

CVYA activities allow Board members to interact with a wider range of youth than would be possible without the organization. Youth who volunteer to assist with activities observe Board members and the Executive Director organizing and directing. Board members often assign youth tasks to carry out and, if asked, instructions on how to do it. Thus, activities in which Board members and youth participate together--as in 16 of the 42 activities observed (38 percent)--created personal educational relationships between members and youth who volunteered to assist in organizing or facilitating events. In part because of these personal relationships, a group of high school age youth coalesced to form a cadre of volunteers who could be called upon to assist in carrying out activities. Such a group can also be seen as a pool of involved young people from which future Board members or Directors could be recruited. Generally, this group was composed of high school females in the 15 to 18 age range.

At least one scholar of learning has observed that youth may learn best from those who are just a bit older than themselves (Tax, 1973). If this is indeed true then the relationships that develop between Board members and slightly younger youth may be the most important educational relationships that CVYA fosters.

CONCLUSION

To return to the theme of youth organizations as alternative educational environments, we can recognize that CVYA is, by intention and in fact, an organization with educational purposes. On the one hand, through the example provided by the Board members and through some of its activities, the organization offers a model of youth consistent with the values of the village: youth who participate in their community, who know and respect the traditions of the village, who are equipped with both traditional and modern skills, and who are capable of initiating and carrying out their own plans. On the other hand, CVYA offers youth the opportunity to experience the actual mechanics of planning, organizing, and managing activities. While measuring what youth do, in fact, learn through CVYA is highly problematic, the very fact that so many youth do choose to participate in its activities and that those who are currently Board members have in the past served the organization as volunteers indicates that some of the ideals CVYA attempts to foster have reached some youth. Whether or not these youth learned these ideals through CVYA would be difficult to sort out.

The educational role of CVYA was perhaps summed up best by a member of the Traditional Council, himself a former member of the CVYA Board: "These are our leaders of the future. They will face challenges to our way of life. CVYA gets them ready for that."

A secondary result of this study was the discovery of certain conditions which seem to favor the success of youth organizations in rural Alaska. Though our evidence does not permit us to draw direct causative relationships between conditions and the organization's success, our investigations do suggest some interesting and perhaps useful hypotheses.

As we have seen, CVYA evolved from earlier attempts to create organizations that would sponsor activities for youth and other members of the community. These attempts began in the early 1960's, continued into the 1970's, and culminated with the incorporation of CVYA as a non-profit organization in 1976. All of these early efforts were initiated by the young people in the village. Some, though not all, of the youth involved in these organizational attempts were or had been students at St. Mary's Mission High School, a parochial school on the Andreavsky River, a tributary of the Lower Yukon River. The philosophy of education which prevailed at St. Mary's was that students should be fully involved in their education, that they were responsible for creating their own activities (Kleinfeld, 1979). A similar idea seems to have been rooted in the Chevak community. A key actor in the creation of CVYA who had also been involved in earlier attempts to organize the village youth reported that "My parents told me, 'You get things done by doing them. You actually have to do them if you want them to succeed.' I grew up participating in things. Other people involved in CVYA had the same experience growing up." Eight of the young people involved in the "Action Group" from 1976 to 1976 were or had been St. Mary's students; six were not. What seems most important here is that the youth were willing to take matters into their own hands, to create an organization for youth.

In light of the proposals to establish youth organizations in the rural areas of Alaska as a way of combating rising rates of suicide, alcohol and drug abuse, this background seems particularly significant. Evolving as it did from young people's own desire to sponsor social, recreational, and community service activites, CVYA was, from its inception, firmly rooted in the social, historical, and economic conditions of the village. Its structure and processes were shaped by the very conditions out of which it evolved. These observations may explain why organizations which have evolved from very different conditions rarely achieve the kind of success in rural Alaska that CVYA has enjoyed.

Another condition which may have contributed to the stability and success which CVYA has achieved is the organizational complex of the village itself. For reasons which are not at all clear, Chevakers appear to have an unusual capacity for cooperative efforts. Two very concrete examples of this are five canals--one of which is several hundred yards long--which villagers dug with hand tools in the 1950's and 1960's to shorten the distance they had to travel to reach the sea and to connect the major rivers in the area. These efforts were organized and carried out entirely by the villagers. A more recent example of this organizational capacity was the decision by the Traditional Council to contract administrative control of the village schools from the BIA. This was carried out at a time when no other school in Alaska had done so. During the first year of operation under contract, the Traditional Council ran the school in a professional and effective manner that impressed all concerned--villagers, educators, and students alike. In addition to the Traditional Council, both the Chevak Company Corporation board and the City Council are active governing entities. While similar organizations exist in other villages, they often do not display the initiative or willingness to take risks that are common in Chevak.

Finally, there is an unusually cooperative relationship between the young leaders of the village and the elders which has conditioned the development of CVYA. As one young leader who holds positions both on the Traditional

Council and in the village corporation put it, "We've won the elders' trust." Another member of the Traditional Council reported that no major decisions were taken without prior consultation with the elders. This trust has been won fairly recently: Another leader related how the elders had frowned upon the Young People's Club which was organized in the 1960's. It would appear that the success of the Action Group in the mid-1970's contributed to the elders' decision that the youth were to be trused in running not only their own affairs but those of the village as well. The average age of members on the three primary governing boards of the village is 32.

These three conditions--youth-initiated efforts to organize, the presence of an unusual organizational capacity in the village, and a relationship of trust between elders and youth--all appear important in the success of CVYA. The nature of our evidence does not permit us to conclude that these conditions are necessary for a youth organization to succeed in a rural Alaskan setting. But the evidence does indicate that attempts merely to transpose a youth organization which has been successful in one setting to another set of conditions may be at best risky--and at worst a waste of effort and resources.

During the period of this study, CVYA received communications from several villages in Western Alaska who indicated an interest in starting youth organizations similar to CVYA. Our research indicates that resources might best be spent in encouraging these types of indigenous efforts. Indeed, individuals who have been involved with CVYA might be the best resource people available to advise villages which are culturally and socially similar to Chevak on how to get organized and sponsor activities.

NOTES

1. As in the majority culture, the term "youth" in the context of an Eskimo village is somewhat ambiguous. Asked to distinguish between "youth" and "adult," informants did, however, acknowledge one critical event: parenting. One 31-year old male said, "Before I was married I was crazy--drinking, smoking, doing crazy things. But I had children and I thought, I never want my children to see me like that, crazy." Another male, 27, who had had his first child told me that he had stopped drinking: "Daniel [his son] shouldn't see that . . . it's no good for him to see his daddy all messed up." An 18-year old, when asked how having a family changed the young men in his village, replied, "Sometimes they hang out, but mostly they try to provide for their families." Thus, starting a family represents for the villagers the watershed between youth and adulthood.

2. Mouse foods are tender young grass roots and shoots stored beneath the tundra by voles during the summer and fall. Dug up, washed, and boiled in seal blood or oil, they are a great delicacy.

3. In 1980, there were approximately 80 jobs for 200 inhabitants over the age of 18 in the village of Chevak where this study was carried out.

4. The author observed such an organization in Gambell on St. Lawrence Island. The 4-H Club, started by a white school teacher, had been taken over by several local adults. Awards, ceremonies, and formal meetings were de-emphasized as social activities, group projects, and community service were correspondingly stressed. Under the direction of a local woman held in esteem by the community, the club attracted village youth with projects such as skin sewing, mukluk making, dog harness construction and repair, and carving.

5. Income as used here refers only to cash income. Subsistence products are not included. Thus, when we speak of the relative poverty of the village, we are referring to the cash economy only.

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APPENDIX I

Representative Interview Schedules

Leader Interview (Chapter 2)

Parent Interview (Chapter 3)

Youth Interview (Chapter 3)

LEADER INTERVIEW

We would like to ask you some questions about (Scouting) as an organization, what its goals are, what kinds of activities it has. We are trying to learn more about how (Scouting) functions as an educational environment, what young people learn in (Scouting) and whether what they learn is similar to or different from what they learn in the public schools.

This research is being carried out by the University of Alaska and it is funded by the National Institute of Education. Whatever you say will be kept entirely confidential. We very much appreciate your help in this project. Educators know very little about such organizations as (Scouting) even though they affect millions of young people.

A. Organizational Goals

1. Since I have not had any real experience with (Scouting), could you tell me what kind of an organization you think it is?
   - a. What are the goals or purposes of (Scouting)?
     [Grand tour question designed to elicit goal perceptions]
   - b. Does (Scouting) have different kinds of goals? What are these?
     [Structural question designed to elicit all types of perceived goals]

2. Different youth organizations have different kinds of goals. This is a list of many kinds of goals. For each one, could you tell me if you see this goal as a very important aim of (Scouting), a somewhat important aim, a not-so-important aim, or not an aim at all. [Use goal insert]

3. All in all, how would you describe the reputation of (Scouting) in the community?

B. Types of Activities

1. Now I would like to ask you about the kinds of activities that (Scouting) does. What kinds of things do you do? [Probe for time spent]
    a. For these activities, how much time do you spend in an average month?
    b. Of all the activities your group does, which ones are the most successful? Why is that?
    c. Which activities do you see as least successful? Why is that?

C. Educational Environment

1. One of the main reasons we are doing this study is to see in what ways youth organizations like (Scouting) are similar to or different from schools. Could you contrast school with scouting?
   Are there other ways in which (Scouting) is (like/not like) schools?

2. a. Different types of leaders establish different kinds of relationships with young people. Sometimes the relationship is personal and sometimes it is more formal. How would you describe the relationship you have with the (girls, boys)?
    b. Is it like the relationship they have with a teacher or is it different? How?

3. a. All in all, would you say the members of (Scouting) are more interested and enthusiastic about what goes on in (Scouting) than about what goes on in school or are they less interested and enthusiastic about (Scouting) or are they interested in (Scouting) and school about the same amount?

1. More Interested	2. Less Interested	3. About the Same

4. a. Why is that?
   b. Which activities are they most interested in? Why?

5. We have been talking about (Scouting) compared to schools. Now let's talk about (Scouting) compared to other youth organizations like (Boy Scouts/ Girl Scouts/4-H).
   a. In what ways is (Scouting) like these other organizations?
   b. In what ways is (Scouting) different from these other organizations?

D. Membership

1. How many young people are registered to your (troop, etc.)?

2. How many members usually attend your meetings?

3. Are there any meetings or events in which attendance is very high? What are these?

4. Have any new members joined since the beginning of the registration year? How many?

5. Have any members dropped out since the beginning of the registration year? How many? Why did they drop out?

6. How are members recruited to join (Scouting)? How do they get into a particular (troop, den, etc.)?
   [Probe for basis of membership. Friendship group, school class, church affiliation]

7. Are most of the members friends outside of (Scouting)? Or do they get

together mostly during (Scouting) meetings and events?

8. What is the reputation of (Scouting) among the (girls, boys)?

9. a. Could you describe the kinds of (girls, boys) that belong to your troop? Is there anything these people have in common compared to people who are not members, such as personality or the kind of student they are in school or anything like this?
   b. What type of relationships do the kids in the group have? Is it like the relationships they have with their schoolmates?
   c. Have you had any "problem children" in your group? How have they done in (Scouting)?

10. Do you have any minority group youth as members in your (troop)? How many?

    If yes,

    a. Do you see any differences between these young people and the others in your group in their interest in (Scouting) activities?
    b. Many youth organizations like (Scouting) have found it difficult to recruit minority group youth. Do you have any thoughts about why this happens?

11. Many youth organizations like (Scouting) have also found it difficult to retain older youth. Do you have any thoughts about why this happens?

E. Effects of Youth Group Membership

1. a. Have you seen any changes in the members of your troop as a result of their belonging to (Scouting)?

1. CHANGES	2. NO CHANGES	3. DON'T KNOW

   b. What are these changes? About what proportion of your group have changed in this way?

   c. Any other changes?

   d. About what proportion of your group have changed in this way?

2. a. What do you see as the big problems of young people in this age group?

   b. Are the (girls, boys) aware of these problems?

   c. Does (Scouting) help kids with these problems? How?

3. All in all, what do you see (Scouting) as preparing (girls, boys) for?

F. Leader Characteristics and Background

Now I'd like to finish up by asking you about your own background and how you got involved in (Scouting).

1. a. How long have you been a leader in (Scouting)?

   b. Have you been involved in (Scouting) in other ways?

2. Why did you become a leader?

3. How long do you think you will remain a leader? [If planning to leave, ask why]

4. a. What have you personally gotten out of (Scouting)?

   b. What are your biggest problems?

5. a. All in all, would you say that you very much enjoy being a leader, that you enjoy it somewhat, or that you don't enjoy it very much?

1. VERY MUCH ENJOY	2. ENJOY SOMEWHAT	3. DON'T ENJOY VERY MUCH

b. Now I'd like to ask you a little bit about your own background. We prepared a survey to make it convenient for you.

ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS

Different youth organizations have different kinds of goals. Ihis is a list of many goals. For each one, could you mark whether you see this goal as a very important aim of your organization, a somewhat important aim, a not-so-important aim, or not an aim at all?

After you have evaluated the importance of each goal, could you go through the list again? For each of these goals, do you see your organization as very successful in accomplshing it, somewhat successful, not too successful, or not successful at all?

A.	Importance of Goal				Success of Organization in Accomplishing Goal			
	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT SO IMPORTANT	NOT AN AIM AT ALL	VERY SUCCESSFUL	SOMEWHAT SUCCESSFUL	NOT SO SUCCESSFUL	NOT SUCCESSFUL AT ALL
1. Teaching new skills	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Helping young people find friends or be with friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Helping young people have something to do with their free time	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Teaching young people the importance of helping other people and helping the community	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Teaching young people how to plan and carry out activities on their own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Developing good character and citizenship	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Helping young people have fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Preventing problems, like drinking or drug use	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Increasing parents' involvment with their children's activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Physical and mental fitness (being in shape)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Developing leadership qualities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Are there other goals which we have left out? What are these? [Rank importance]								
12. ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. If you had to choose one of these goals as the most important aim of your organization, which goal would it be?

____

C. Of these goals, which one do you see your organization as most successful in accomplishing?

____

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

We would like to find out more about the background of people involved in youth organizations. Thank you very much.

1. How many years have you lived in this community? ______

2. a. Do you work at a paying job? ☐ YES ☐ NO

   b. What is this job? ______

   c. About how many hours do you work at this job per week? ______

3. a. Are you attending school now? ☐ YES ☐ NO

   b. If so, about how many hours do you spend in school? ______

4. a. Does your spouse work outside the home? ☐ YES ☐ NO

   b. What is this job? ______

   c. About how many hours does your spouse work at this job per week? ______

5. What was the highest level of education you completed?

   ______ eighth grade
   ______ some high school
   ______ high school graduate
   ______ some college
   ______ vocational/technical school
   ______ college graduate
   ______ above college

6. How many children do you have? ______
   For each child, please mark their sex, age, whether they are currently a member of (Scouting), or whether they have been a member in the past.

	SEX (M=male F=female)	AGE (in yrs)	CURRENT MEMBER (✓)	PAST MEMBER (✓)
1st Child	______	______	______	______
2nd Child	______	______	______	______
3rd Child	______	______	______	______
4th Child	______	______	______	______
5th Child	______	______	______	______

7. a. Do you belong to any civic or church organizations?

   ☐ YES ☐ NO

   b. If yes, which ones? ______
   ______
   ______
   ______

PARENT INTERVIEW

A. MOTIVES FOR JOINING

1. How old is your son? How long has he been in Cubs, Webelos, and Boy Scouts?

2. Why did he join?

    a. Whose idea was it?
    b. What did you think he would get out of Scouts?
    c. Have those things happened?

B. EFFECTS OF ORGANIZATION

1. What kinds of things had your child learned from Scouting?

    a. Any (other) practical skills, like swimming or first aid?

        1) Has he used these skills outside of Boy Scouts? How?
        2) Has anyone in the family said anything to him about why he should learn these skills? What?
        3) Have his friends, teachers, or anyone outside the family said anything about the importance of these skills?
        4) Some Boy Scouts we have talked to have said that learning skills like emergency survival makes them feel more like a man. Other Boy Scouts have a different view and feel those skills give them more confidence. Has your son said anything that would give you some ideas about the meaning of these skills in his life?

    b. Has the Boy Scout experience changed or influenced any of your son's attitudes and values? How?

        1) Does Boy Scouts emphasize the same values as your family or are there some differences in what you as parents teach your son and what Boy Scouts teaches your son?
        2) Has Boy Scouts influenced your ideas in any way about what is important for a boy growing up to learn or do?
        3) These are some areas that some parents feel Boy Scouts has influenced their children. Other parents, however, don't think Boy Scouts has had much effect in these ways. Could you tell me whether Boy Scouts has had any effect on your own son's: (Please explain)
            a. Self-confidence about what he can accomplish.
            b. Ideas about how a man behaves.
            c. Sense of responsiblity to a group.
            d. Interest in helping the community.
            e. Interest in taking on leadership roles.

c. We are trying to find out more about the kinds of experiences boys have in Scouting and whether or not these experiences repeat what boys learn elsewhere. Outside of Scouts, has your son had the opportunity to:

1) Go wilderness camping? How? Is the experience pretty much the same as in Boy Scouts or is it different? In what way?
2) Lead a group of boys? How? Is the experience the same/different? In what way?
3) Teach younger children? How? Is the experience the same/different? In what ways?
4) Work with a group on a project? How? Is the experience the same/different? In what ways?
5) Present his accomplishments to a group like the Board of Review? Is the experience the same/different? How?
6) Are there any other experiences your son has had in Boy Scouts that he doesn't get elsewhere?
7) Are there areas of Boy Scout activities that repeat experiences your son gets elsewhere?

d. Has you son developed new social relationships through Scouts, either with other boys or with adults in the community? [For each mentioned, ask 1) personal characteristics such as sex, age, occupation or role; 2) activity with Boy Scout; 3) anything learned through relationship; and 4) time spent with Scout.]

1) Has your son made any new friends through Scouts? Who is he (sex, age, role in troop, type of boy)? What thing does your son do with him? Has he given your son new ideas about things or taught him anything? How much time does your son spend with him? [Repeat for all peer contacts]
2) Are there any [other] older boys your son has met through Scouts that he particularly admires? Who is he? What does your son admire about him? Has he given your son any new ideas about things or taught him anything? Does your son do any things with him or spend time personally with him?
3) Has your son met any [other] new adults through Scouts, like Merit Badge Counselors or people who work with Boy Scouts? Who is he? What does your son do with him? Has this relationship given your son any new ideas about things or taught him anything? How much time does your son spend with him? [Repeat for all adult contacts]
4) Are there other adults, outside of your family and teachers in school, that your son spends time with? Who are they? What does your son do with them? Has this relationship given your son any new ideas about things or taught him anything? How much time does your son spend with them?

C. FAMILY LIFE

1. Do you or your [spouse] participate in Scouting activities or help out with them? In what ways?

2. Is Scouting something you strongly encourage your son to do or do you feel it is one of many activities your son can choose to do if he wants?

3. Were you and your [spouse] a Scout when you were growing up? (If yes) For how long? Why did you leave? Looking back, what do you think you learned from Scouting? What in Scouting didn't you like?

4. What have you told your son about your own Scouting experiences?

YOUTH INTERVIEW

We would like to ask you some questions about Scouting, what kinds of things you do in Scouting, and what you like and don't like about it.

This research is being carried out by the University of Alaska. Whatever you say will be kept in private.

Phone # ____________________

Name ________________________ Ethnic Group ________________

Age _________________________ Residence __________________

Grade _______________________ Troop ______________________

A. Motives for Joining

1. Why did you join (Scouting)? Any other reasons?

2. Did your parents want you to join (Scouting)?

3. What did your parents think you would get out of (Scouting)?

B. Effects of Organization

1. What kinds of things have you learned from Scouting activities?

    a. Any other practical skills, like swimming or first aid?

    b. Have you used any of these skills outside of Scouting, like in school or with your family and friends?

    c. Do you think you will use these skills some time? How?

2. Has Boy Scouts changed or influenced any of your values or ideas about what is important for a boy growing up to learn or do? How?

3. Does Boy Scouts emphasize the same values as your family or are there important differences in the values your family teaches you and the values Scouts teaches you?

4. We have talked to a lot of different boys and asked them what they got out of Scouting. Some boys think Scouting has helped them in one way, like learning leadership. Other boys don't think Scouting has helped them in this way but it has helped them in other ways, like learning important skills.

   For each of these areas, could you tell me whether or not Boy Scouts has helped you personally in this way?

   a. Leadership - knowing how to lead a group. (If yes, how?)

   b. Sense of responsibility to a group -- doing your share of the work or doing things you've said you'd do. (If yes, how?)

   c. Ideas about how a man behaves. (If yes, how?)

   d. Interest in helping the community. (If yes, how?)

   e. Self-confidence about what you can do. (If yes, how?)

C. Learning Experiences

5. Now, we would like to ask you about your badge work. What badges have you received?

6. How did you learn to do these badge requirements?

   a. In general, was it something you knew before or something that was learned for the badge?

   b. Who helped you do badgework?

7. Of all the activities you do in Scouting, which do you like the best? Why?

8. Do your parents participate in Scouting activities? What kinds of things do they do?

9. We are trying to find out more about the kinds of experiences boys have in Scouting and whether or not these experiences repeat what you learn elsewhere. For each of these experiences, could you tell me whether you did it in Scouts and then whether you have done it outside of Scouts.

   1. Go wilderness camping. (If outside of Scouts, ask if experience is pretty much the same or different).

2. Lead a group of boys. (If ...)

3. Teach younger children. (If ...)

4. Work with a group on a project. (If ...)

5. Present what you've done to a group, like the Board of Review. (If ...)

6. Are there other experiences you have had in Boy Scouts that you don't get elsewhere? What?

7. Are there Boy Scout activities that just repeat things you've already done before? What?

10. Now we'd like to ask you about the people you've met through Boy Scouts.

   a. Have you made any new friends through Scouts? Who?

   b. Have you met any boys whom you really admire? Who? What is it about this person that makes you admire him?

   c. Have you met any new adults through Scouts, like Merit Badge Counselors, Troop Committee members or people at the Scouting office?

   d. Outside of your family and teachers, are there other adults who you spend time with, like coaches or youth group advisors or friends of the family?

D. Tenure in Organization

11. What do you think of Troop X? (Probe for evaluation of year, positive and negative experiences.)

12. Do you look forward to going to troop meetings and camp-outs or do you not really want to go? Why?

13. Have you asked any of your friends to join Scouts? Why or why not?

14. If you weren't doing Boy Scout activities, what other things would you be doing with the time that Boy Scouts takes?

15. How long do you plan to stay in Scouting?

16. What are the biggest problems of people your age? Do you see Scouting as helping these problems? How?

Now I would like to give you a survey about the goals of Scouting and what, if anything, you have gotten out of it. Could you complete it?

Person Completing Survey ________________

YOUTH SURVEY

Youth organizations have many different kinds of goals. This is a list of many possible goals.
1) For each, could you mark whether you see this goal as a very important aim of (Scouting), a somewhat important aim, a not-so-important aim, or not an aim at all?

2) After you have evaluated the importance of each goal, could you go through the list again amd mark how much you think you have benefitted as a result of belonging to (Scouting).

A.	Importance of Goal				Benefit to You		
	VERY IMPORTANT	SOMEWHAT IMPORTANT	NOT SO IMPORTANT	NOT AN AIM AT ALL	BENEFITTED A LOT	BENEFITTED A LITTLE	NO EFFECT
1. Teaching new skills	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2. Helping young people find friends or be with friends	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3. Helping young people have something to do with their free time	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4. Teaching young people the importance of helping other people and helping the community	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5. Teaching young people how to plan and carry out activities on their own	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6. Developing good character and citizenship	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7. Helping young people have fun	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8. Preventing problems, like drinking or drug use	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9. Increasing parents' involvment with their children's activities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10. Physical and mental fitness (being in shape)	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11. Developing leadership qualities	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Are there other goals which we have left out? What are these? [Rank importance]							
12. ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13. ____________________	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

B. If you had to choose one of these goals as the most important aim of your organization, which goal would it be?

____

C. Of these goals, which one do you see your organization as most successful in accomplishing?

3) Now could you compare what you get out of (Scouting) and what you get out of school. For each of these goals, would you say you get more out of (Scouting) or more out of school or the same amount from each experience?

	BENEFIT MORE FROM SCOUTING	BENEFIT MORE FROM SCHOOL	BENEFIT ABOUT THE SAME FROM BOTH
1. Teaching new skills	☐	☐	☐
2. Helping young people find friends or be with friends	☐	☐	☐
3. Helping young people have something to do with their free time	☐	☐	☐
4. Teaching young people the importance of helping other people and helping the community	☐	☐	☐
5. Teaching young people how to plan and carry out activities on their own	☐	☐	☐
6. Developing good character and citizenship	☐	☐	☐
7. Helping young people have fun	☐	☐	☐
8. Preventing problems, like drinking or drug use	☐	☐	☐
9. Increasing parents' involvment with their children's activities	☐	☐	☐
10. Physical and mental fitness (being in shape)	☐	☐	☐
11. Developing leadership qualities	☐	☐	☐
12. ______________________________	☐	☐	☐
13. ______________________________	☐	☐	☐

APPENDIX II

Boy Scout Troop Diaries

The Boy Scout Diary: Instructions to Parents

Examples of Diaries from Parents

THE BOY SCOUT DIARY

Goal

The purpose of this research is to find out:

1. What your son is learning from the Boy Scout experience (for example, first aid, swimming skills, and how to lead a group).
2. The meaning of what he is learning for his own life (for example, feeling more confident in being able to handle an emergency and feeling that he can take care of himself).
3. How he is learning these things (for example, through the experience of being an assistant senior patrol leader, and through going on a winter camp-out).
4. Who he is learning these things from (for example, older boys whom he admires, the Scoutmaster, or a Merit Badge Counselor).

HOW TO WRITE A DIARY ENTRY

Whenever your son has a learning experience in Boy Scouts or says something important about Boy Scouts, please make a note.

Each note should include:

1. Date
2. Context (place, what was going on, who was there)
3. Description (who said what, who did what)
4. Interpretation (what you think this event means)

Please try to note:

1. Learning experiences (what your son learned and how)
2. Activities (what your son is carrying out)
3. Roles (what roles your son is performing, such as leader, teacher, or organizer)
4. Values or attitudes (what your son is acquiring, such as the need to help the community or how a man should behave; some of these values and attitudes may be new, but others may reinforce what you have taught your child at home)
5. Social relationships (such as personal contacts between your son and older boys or adults in the community; what is your son learning through these relationships?)
6. Enthusiasm and dislikes (what your son is excited about and what he doesn't want to do)

Note spontaneous comments. Also, feel free to ask your son questions about the experience. Be careful not to grill him or to ask leading questions.

SAMPLE DIARY ENTRIES

Date: August 9, 1980

Context: Unsolicited comment from Jack who was making his bed to me (fixing my hair).

Description:

Jack: I think I'll be a principal when I grow up.

Response: That's an important job.

Jack: Yes, well I'm going to be an Eagle Scout and I will be able to do any job I want to do.

Response: How come? etc.

Interpretation: Experience in Boy Scouts making him feel confident.

Date: September 17, 1980

Context: Riding in the car home from a Boy Scout meeting.

Description:

Jack: (Unsolicited) Boy, those boys really do what John (patrol leader) tells them.

Response: Oh, what happened? (Important to elicit without leading.)

Jack: Some boys were shoving each other and he just said, "Stop it" and they stopped immediately with no back talk, etc.

Interpretation: Admiration for older boy. Realizing that some day he can be a leader.

Examples of Diaries
From Parents

September 23, 1981

Context: After a patrol meeting at the library to go to Market Basket to buy Camporee supplies. Comments to me fixing dinner.

Description: Greg: Well, Mark didn't show up like he was supposed to, so Dave and Keith and I bought only enough groceries for the three of us. I told Mark if he didn't show up today, he wouldn't be going on the Camporee.

Response: (Mrs. A.) Maybe something happened that prevented him from coming. You know he doesn't have a phone since they moved.

Greg: Well, if he shows up Friday, I've got a problem. I'm going to call ________ (a senior scout in troop) and ask him what I should do.

Interpretation: Greg is experiencing the dilemnas and frustrations of being a leader. Showing confidence in the advice of older boy instead of going to an adult.

Note: It was interesting to me, that this time I wasn't consulted about the food at all. He showed a lot of confidence in planning and buying food for this trip and said later how good their food tasted. This is a real change from those first trips.

September 27, 1981

Context: Arriving home from Fall Camporee, in living room with all the family.

Description: Greg: I've never had such cold feet! It was miserable!

Response: How come?

Greg: Lots of snow--wet snow and these (leather) boots sucked up all the wet. They were frozen both mornings!

Interpretation: Learning the consequences of not always "being prepared." His boots hadn't been oiled (waterproofed) before leaving.

October 17, 1981

Context: Upon returning home from Healy field trip for Geology merit badge. I asked him how he liked the trip.

Description: Greg: Boy, did we have fun. Mr. McDaniel told us the geological history about the areas along the road and we got all these rock samples. (Proceeds to show the family all his specimens and shows lots of enthusiasm.)

(Later) Greg: Mr. McDaniel wants to take a few of us again and show us the sand dunes, etc. (lists more geological formations).

Response: Then you had a good time despite your grumbling about studying.

Greg: Yeah (sheepish smile).

Interpretation: Experiencing the excitement of a new area of study which normally would not be available in school. Will reinforce science studies in school.

APPENDIX III

Nonformal Learning Observation Schedule

Nonformal Learning: Event Observation and Analysis

Definitions for Observation Instrument

NONFORMAL LEARNING:
EVENT OBSERVATION AND ANALYSIS

Description

Date: ______________ Time: ______________ Duration of Event: ______________

Type of Event ______________________ Name of Event ______________________

Setting ____

Content:

Organizers:

Role	Age	Sex	Ethnicity	Residence

Participants:

Number:
Ages:
Sex:
Ethnicity:
Residence:
Roles:

Onlookers:

Numbers by age groups and relation to participants (i.e., kids, youth, middle age, elders):

Response of Participants:

Interest Level (activity; verbal and nonverbal interest):

Comments:

Responses of Onlookers:

Interest Level (activity; verbal and nonverbal interest):

Comments:

Analysis

1. Skill Transmission

What skills are transmitted?:

Skill training:

Information transmission:

Educational relationships:

Degree to which skill is locally, culturally relevant:

2. Character Ideal Transmission

Which character ideals are transmitted?:

Behavior ideals transmitted:

Educational relationships:

Ideals as expression of:
- National values:

- Subcultural values:

- Sex role behavior:

3. Educational Relationships

Who occupies the teaching/learning roles and with what effect?

Teaching roles:

Learning roles:

Impersonal vs. personal:

Effectiveness:

Role modeling:

Incidental learning:

Analysis (p. 2)

4. Role Experience of Youth

What roles do youth occupy?

	No.	Time Duration
Leader:		
Teacher:		
Planner/Organizer:		
Operator or facilitator:		
Active participant in cooperative activity:		
Passive recipient of information:		

5. Function of Events

What are the intended and unintended consequences?

	Explicit	Implicit
Educational:		
Social:		
Recreational:		
Community Service:		
Economic:		

6. Observer Comments:

DEFINITIONS FOR OBSERVATION INSTRUMENT:
NONFORMAL LEARNING: EVENT OBSERVATION AND ANALYSIS

Event: a happening, occurrence, item in a program, or contest that has a recognizable beginning and end.

Setting: the time, place, environment and surrounding circumstances of an event.

Content (of an event): all that is contained in an event including activities, relationships and materials used.

Organizer: an individual who arranges, directs or oversees an event.

Participant: an individual who is involved in or shares in the activities of an event but who is not responsible for planning or directing the event.

Onlooker: an individual who watches an event but is not involved in the event.

Skill transmission: the transfer of a specific ability, art, craft or task facility to another person.

Information transmission: the transfer of specific knowledge or facts to another person.

Role experience: behaving in the manner expected of the occupant of a given position or status.

Skill training: a set of actions intended to teach a specific ability, art, craft or task facility.

Culturally relevant skills: specific abilities, art, craft, or task facilities which are used in the routine of life of a group of people sharing artistic, social, ideological, and religious patterns of behavior as well as techniques for mastering the environment.

Character ideal transmission: a set of values describing desirable or appropriate behavior which are transferred to another person.

Behavior ideals: a set of actions or modes of conduct expressing the values held as desirable or appropriate for members of a society.

National values: ideas, principles, goals, standards or beliefs held in esteem by a majority of the members of a modern nation-state.

Subcultural values: ideas, principles, goals and standards held in esteem by a variant subdivision of people sharing a combination of factorable social situations such as class status, ethnic background, regional and rural or urban residence, and religious affiliation.

Sex role behavior: conduct, mannerisms, actions, and attitudes culturally defined as more desirable, expected, or appropriate for one gender.

Educational relationships: an association between two or more people in which knowledge, skills, or values are transferred from one person to another.

Teaching roles: a position or status in which knowledge, skills, or values are imparted to others.

Learning roles: a position or status in which knowledge, skills or values are acquired.

Personal vs. Impersonal learning: in personal learning, the transmission of knowledge, skills, or values is directed to the characteristics of an individual; in impersonal learning, the transmission of knowledge, skills or values is directed to the characteristics of a group.

Effectiveness: applied to activities which actually achieve their desired result.

Role modeling: patterning the actions and behaviors of people after those of a representative person in a specific position or status.

Incidental learning: the acquisition of knowledge, skills, or values which occurs as an unintended consequence of some activity.

Leader: a person who directs, commands, or guides an activity or group.

Teacher: a person who imparts knowledge, skills, or values to others.

Planner: a person who devises a scheme for doing, making, or arranging something.